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ANALYTICAL AND TECHNICAL MEMORANDUM

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THE ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE YOUNG CANADIAN (AGED 15 – 24) A PROFILE

by

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Economic Characteristics Section

Ottawa, January 1969

THE ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE YOUNG CANADIAN (AGED 15-24)

A PROFILE

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Preface

The literature on the young people of Canada is extremely limited. I have not been able to find any systematic studies which focus on the condition of the young as reflected in the socio-economic dimensions of his life. Statistical analyses have been made of various other sub-groups of the population using 1961 Census and other data sources, but the young people per se have been singularly neglected. It was with a view to filling this gap that the present study was undertaken. It endeavours to present a socio-economic-demographic profile of the young Canadian and focuses upon young people 15-24 years of age at the time of the 1961 Decennial Census. The method is both descriptive and analytical and where the data permitted, historical trends have been examined. The study does not by any means claim to be exhaustive; certain aspects are treated with greater emphasis and put into sharper focus than others and the blend of descriptive and analytical treatment is often uneven. This is due in large measure to the limitations of the data and to a lesser degree to the author's interest and orientation. If, however, the effort paves the way for further work in this field, the study will have accomplished one of its important objectives. The results of the 1971 Census will no doubt provide material in the not-too-distant future for bringing the study up-to-date.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This study has endeavoured to distill from the wealth of statistical and demographic information obtained in the 1961 Decennial Census of population a socio-economic profile of the "Young Canadian". In the attempt to put Canadian young people into candid and realistic perspective, the factual requirements of policy-makers, commercial agencies and social analysts have been kept in mind and the findings have been presented in a manner designed to be of assistance to them in taking decisions on issues which have relevance to the youth of the country. Such decisions forcefully affect and are in turn affected by the condition of the young. Analysis and interpretation of the determinants of these conditions are therefore a sine qua non for the orientation of policy and a guide for action.

The young Canadian is defined, for the purposes of this study, as a person within the age group fifteen to twenty-five years. This is quite a wide span; it encompasses two distinct stages in the development from youth to full adult responsibility. The "late teens" is generally accepted as a period for training and education and the social and educational institutions of our society are designed with this in mind. By the early twenties the formal educational process has normally been terminated and the young person stands on the threshold of adult life ready to assume the obligations and responsibilities thereof. Both phases of this development are separated out and analysed in accordance with the specialized orientation associated with each stage of the life cycle.

This important sub-group has been isolated from the rest of the population and, with the use of cross-sectional data, an attempt is made to put the young people into focus at a particular point in time. That point is the period of the last decennial census in 1961. Where the data permitted, the pattern of change has been put into historical perspective; but, for the most part, a very short view of history is taken due to the limitations of comparative data in the Canadian census over long periods. The desirability of enlarged coverage and the changing definitions and concepts from one decennial census to the next, while enriching our data, have imposed severe limitations on comparability over time.

The primary objective and major emphasis have been research and analysis of the economic characteristics of young people. The study attempts to find out how the young rank relative to other sub-groups of the population with respect to the important variables which influence the quality of their life and their level of living. Thus labour force status, employment rates, occupational and industry attachments and earnings and income patterns are the central issues; but the implications of sociological and demographic phenomena on economic performance have not been overlooked.

Demographic influences have profound and far-reaching effect upon the economic parameters. The second chapter is given over to description and analysis of these data. Considerable interest centres on the impact of changes in age composition and marital status upon the number who enter the labour market each year and on the repercussions of this upon employment, occupation and income. The interrelations among many variables tend to cloud the causal inferences, but there can be no doubt that population size and distribution, sex and age composition and marital status, impinge upon economic factors in ways which are significant.

Social characteristics are analysed in Chapter III. The family life of the young Canadians is described and compared with family organization of other

groups. The influence of variations in the structural organization of the family upon its size and upon the distribution of income is analysed. Living arrangements are examined and related to such economic variables as income and labour force participation, and family type.

Education is both a sociological and an economic variable. It enhances the quality of life of the individual and is also a significant economic dimension which affects such associated factors as the nature of the work he does and the size of the income which he may reasonably expect to receive. Extended facilities for education react upon and are reflected in changes in labour force participation at different ages and the level of education in turn affects the nature of employment and the earnings and income patterns. Chapter IV describes the level of education of young Canadians and attempts a somewhat hazardous comparison of the educational attainment of this group between the censuses of 1951 and 1961.

These sociological and demographic factors have occupied our attention and interest in the first part of the study for the assistance they provide in forwarding our understanding of the performance of young people in the basic fields of economic endeavour. The analysis of the economic characteristics of young people which is the subject of the second part takes implicit or explicit account of all those factors.

Labour market activity, employment opportunity and changes in the occupational structure of industry are systematically related to earning capacity. Part II of the study probes these interrelationships and identifies significant trends. Chapter V looks at the labour force attachment of young Canadians and traces the pattern of historical change in participation rates of the two sub-groups of young people with which we are concerned. The close association between changes in participation rates with changes in school attendance and changes in the white-collar and service sectors of the economy become strikingly apparent.

The occupational and industrial attachment of young people is described in Chapter VI. The degree of concentration in the various occupations and industries in which they are engaged is quantified, and account is taken of the changes which occurred in the decade between 1951 and 1961.

Economic performance is most readily assessed in terms of income. The last chapter discusses the income distribution of the young and analyses the sources and sizes of income in relation to employment, family size, and education.

This study is concerned with the numerous demographic, sociological and economic factors which affect and shape the life of the young Canadian and the profile which emerges is a composite of all these influences. It is hoped that it will, in some measure, meet the long-felt need for statistical and analytical information on the subject of the young and that it will stimulate further research in this field.

PART I

CHAPTER II

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE "YOUNG CANADIAN"

The "Young Canadian" is composed of two separate age groups distinguished from each other by differences in the stage of transition to complete membership in the adult community of individual responsibility. The late teens are the years in which a young person is normally attending secondary school. Towards the end of the teen years and in the early twenties he may continue his education into university, but, as a general rule and for the great majority of the Canadian population, this is the time when he is entering the world of employment, marriage and family responsibility. However, there is considerable overlap in these functions and it is not unusual to find members of the 15-19-year old group assuming all the adult responsibilities which one usually associates with the older group. Indeed, as the Labour Force Survey for the week ending May 20, 1961 reveals, 17 per cent of the teen-agers were attending school as well as in the labour force. Of course, schooling was the major activity for the great majority of them (96 per cent) and work was just a part-time secondary activity. The overlapping of functions also occurs among young adults but to a much lesser degree. In this group only 1.3 per cent reported being both in the labour force and attending school and they were equally divided between those for whom working was the major activity and those for whom attending school took precedence. Nevertheless, despite these exceptions, the normal division of functions justifies treatment of these two age groups, the teen-agers and the young adults, as separate and distinct for purposes of analysis.

Population Size

In 1961 the "Young Canadian" comprised 14.3 per cent of the total population of Canada; 7.8 per cent of these were teen-agers aged 15-19, and 6.5 per cent were young adults from 20-24 years of age. Table 2.1 sets out the changing proportion of young people in the categories under consideration from 1901 to 1961. It is immediately apparent that young people aged 15-24 have been a steadily diminishing proportion of the Canadian population since the turn of the century when they constituted one fifth of the total. By 1961 their share had fallen by 6 percentage points to 14.3 per cent which amounts to a decrease of 28 per cent in relative terms. The decline had been experienced by both sub-groups, the teen-agers' share having shrunk by a quarter and the young adults' by more than a third.

TABLE 2.1. Percentage Distribution of Age Groups 15-19, 20-24, and 15-24 as a Proportion of the Total Population, Canada,(1) 1901-61

Census year	Age group		
	15-19	20-24	15-24
percentage			
1901	10.4	9.6	20.0
1911	9.5	9.9	19.4
1921	9.2	8.1	17.3
1931	10.0	8.8	18.8
1941	9.7	9.0	18.7
1951	7.6	7.8	15.3
1956	7.2	7.0	14.2
1961	7.8	6.5	14.3

(1) Excludes Newfoundland in censuses prior to 1951.

Source: 1961 Census Bulletin 1.2-2, Table 20.

These changes have been accompanied by changes in the opposite direction in each of the five-year-age group from 45-49 and over. Each of these groups constituted a larger proportion of the total population in 1961 than in 1901. Such a change in the age structure is known as the aging of the population, a well-known demographic phenomenon of economically advanced countries. It is explained by changes in the fertility pattern. According to Phillip Hauser, "Fertility is more important than mortality in its effect on the age structure of a population."(1) In Canada, a sharp drop in total fertility occurred between 1901 when there were an average of 4,800 births per thousand women and 1941 when the figure had fallen to 2,832. (See Table 2.2.) The latter was the year of birth of persons who would have been twenty years old in 1961. Indeed, it was in the period between 1941 and 1951 that Canada's population moved into the category of "older populations" as defined by the United Nations.(2) According to that classification, an old population is one in which the proportion of people above 64 years of age exceeds 7 per cent.(3)

TABLE 2.2. Total Fertility Rates,(1) 1902-61

	Total fertility rates
1902	4,800
1912	4,620
1922	3,860
1931	3,200
1941	2,832
1951	3,503
1961	3,840

(1) The sum of the age specific rates for single years of age of women in the reproductive period (expressed per 1,000 women).

Source: Henripin, Jacques, Tendances et facteurs de la fécondité au Canada, DBS, Ottawa, 1968, page 33, Table 2.4.

(1) Hauser, Phillip M. and Vargos, Paul, Aging in Western Societies, edited by Ernest W. Burgess, Chicago, 1961, page 44.

(2) Ostry, S. and Podoluk, J., The Economic Status of the Aging, DBS, 1966, page 13.

(3) The Aging of the Population and its Economic and Social Implications. United Nations, N.Y., 1956.

These underlying demographic factors have far-reaching social and economic repercussions. For one thing the dependency ratio(4) has been altered and for another, the structure of both the labour force and the educational system has been affected. These developments will be discussed at a later stage.

Apart from being a declining proportion of the population, the teen-age group has exhibited interesting variability in their rate of change as seen from Table 2.3. Between the censuses of 1931 and 1941 their numbers had increased by 7.7 per cent. At the following census they had declined by 8.5 per cent reflecting the low birth rate of the thirties. Between 1951 and 1961, however, the number of teen-age persons had increased tremendously. This growth of 35.1 per cent was the third largest increase experienced by any age group during the decade and was greater than that of the population as a whole. This unusual pattern of growth may be attributed to a complex mixture of low birth rate of the late thirties and early forties and the baby boom of the post-Second World War.

The young adults (20-24), on the other hand, experienced one of the lowest rates of growth of any age group in the 1961 Census. Nevertheless, the rate of 8.6 per cent was a marked improvement on the 2.9 per cent growth of the previous decade.

TABLE 2.3. Percentage Increase of the Population Aged 15-19 and 20-24,
Canada, 1931-61

Census decade	Total population	Age group	
		15-19	20-24
percentage			
1931-1941	10.9	7.7	13.3
1941-1951(1)	18.6	-8.5	2.9
1951-1961(1)	30.3	35.1	8.6
1951-1961(2)	30.2	35.4	8.7

(1) Not including Newfoundland in 1951 and 1961.

(2) Including Newfoundland.

Source: 1961 Census Bulletin 7.1-4, Tables VIII and XI.

Provincial Distribution

There were notable differences in the distribution of young people in the different provinces of Canada in 1961. The proportion of teen-agers was highest in Newfoundland with Quebec and New Brunswick running a close second. British Columbia had the lowest proportion of teen-agers, being closely rivalled by Ontario. Quebec had the largest proportion of young adults and British Columbia, the lowest. Table 2.4 sets out the distribution among the provinces and includes the Northwest Territories and the Yukon which, it will be observed, had the lowest proportion of teen-agers and the highest proportion of young adults of any part of Canada, a condition which is due to heavy migration. These interprovincial differences reflect variations in the birth rate as between provinces, as well as the influence of migration upon the age structure of the population.

(4) Dependency ratio is the population under 15 and 65 years and over as a percentage of the population 15-64.

TABLE 2.4. Number and Percentage Distribution of the Age Groups 15-19, 20-24, and 15-24, as a Proportion of the Total Population of Each Province, 1961

Province	Age group							
	Total	15-19		20-24		15-24		
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Newfoundland	457,853	43,829	9.6	30,238	6.6	74,067	16.2	
Prince Edward Island ..	104,629	8,875	8.5	6,344	6.1	15,219	14.5	
Nova Scotia	737,007	64,239	8.7	49,311	6.7	113,550	15.4	
New Brunswick	597,936	53,514	8.9	37,419	6.2	90,933	15.2	
Quebec	5,259,211	467,426	8.9	369,633	7.0	837,059	15.9	
Ontario	6,236,092	436,883	7.0	386,966	6.2	823,849	13.2	
Manitoba	921,686	70,808	7.7	59,007	6.4	129,815	14.1	
Saskatchewan	925,181	72,864	7.9	56,996	6.2	129,860	14.0	
Alberta	1,331,944	99,004	7.4	89,154	6.7	188,158	14.1	
British Columbia	1,629,082	112,653	6.9	95,230	5.8	207,883	12.8	
Yukon	14,628	765,765	5.2	1,109	7.6	1,874	12.8	
Northwest Territories	22,998	1,699	7.4	2,239	9.7	3,938	17.1	

Source: 1961 Census Bulletin 1.2-2, Table 20.

The rate of growth of the young population varied widely from one province to the next over the decade 1951 to 1961, as is evident from Table 2.5. British Columbia's teen-age population increased by 60.4 per cent and its young adults increased by 19.3 per cent. By contrast, Saskatchewan experienced only a 6.4 per cent increase in its teen-age group and a decline of 9 per cent in the older group. Quebec and Ontario exhibited rates of growth in both age groups similar to each other while the Prairie Provinces showed great variability. The loss of population in the young adult group experienced by Saskatchewan and Prince Edward Island probably reflects the off-farm migration of young adults to more highly urbanized provinces.

TABLE 2.5. Percentage Increase of Population in Selected Age Groups,
for the Provinces, 1951-61

Province	Age group	
	15-19	20-24
percentage		
Newfoundland	44.2	13.2
Prince Edward Island	7.0	- 3.2
Nova Scotia	24.7	6.6
New Brunswick	24.9	2.4
Quebec	38.5	8.4
Ontario	38.4	9.8
Manitoba	23.8	0.4
Saskatchewan	6.4	- 9.0
Alberta	33.9	18.0
British Columbia	60.4	19.3

Source: 1961 Census Bulletin 7.1-4, Table 4.

Rural-Urban Distribution

In the 1961 Census, urban areas are defined as all cities, towns and villages of 1,000 and over whether incorporated or not, plus the urbanized fringes of metropolitan and other major urban areas, and certain smaller cities if the city together with its urbanized fringe was 10,000 population and over.(5) The remainder of the population is classified as rural.

The great majority of Canada's population lived in urban areas and, as Table 2.6 illustrates, this general pattern was repeated in the case of its young people albeit to a somewhat lesser degree. Thus 69.6 per cent of the total population lived in urban areas while the proportion of those under twenty-five who were urban dwellers was 66.8 per cent. Young adults have an above-average tendency to settle in urban centres. This is a reflection of two sets of circumstances. One set is represented by the drift away from the farm occasioned by large scale mechanization of farm operations and the resultant lack of employment opportunities. Complementary to this is the pull to the city with its better opportunities for higher education and training and its wider range of occupations and industries. By contrast, relatively larger proportions of teen-agers live on farms than do young adults, a circumstance accounted for by the basic difference in the orientation of the two age groups. During the teen years farm conditions meet his basic educational and other

(5) 1961 Census Bulletin 1.1-7, Introduction.

needs, but by the time he enters the early twenties the limitations become restrictive and the young person moves on to non-farm and to urban settlements in greater numbers.

TABLE 2.6. Percentage Distribution of the Population Under 25 Years,
Rural and Urban, Canada,(1) 1961

Age group	Rural		Urban
	Farm	Non-farm	
percentage			
Under 25	12.5	20.7	66.8
15-19	15.0	19.5	65.5
20-24	9.3	17.7	73.0
Total	11.4	19.0	69.6

(1) Includes Yukon and Northwest Territories.

Source: 1961 Census Bulletin 1.2-2, Table 21.

Sex Composition

Table 2.7 sets out the sex ratio for Canada and the provinces for selected age groups for 1961. Males exceeded females for Canada as a whole and for the teen-age population, but for the group aged 20-24 there was an excess of females. This excess has been attributed in part to a certain degree of underenumeration of males in this age group rather than to basic demographic factors.(6)

The sex ratio showed considerable variation from one province to the next both for the over-all population and for each of the age groups which are the subject of this study. It is interesting to note that although females aged 20-24 years exceeded males of that age group for the country as a whole, only in three provinces, Quebec, Ontario and Alberta, did they outnumber the males. Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia were the provinces with the highest ratio of males to females. The teen-age population showed a strong preponderance of males over females in most of the provinces. Newfoundland was the exception with a ratio of 1,002 males per 1,000 females.

(6) 1961 Census Bulletin 7.1-4, page 4-5.

TABLE 2.7. Sex Ratio of the Young Canadian, by Provinces, in 1961
(Sex ratio = males per 1,000 females)

	Total	15-19	20-24
CANADA	1,022	1,036	984
Newfoundland	1,054	1,002	1,023
Prince Edward Island	1,041	1,068	1,079
Nova Scotia	1,032	1,067	1,075
New Brunswick	1,023	1,052	1,007
Quebec	1,002	1,018	960
Ontario	1,011	1,043	968
Manitoba	1,034	1,051	1,014
Saskatchewan	1,076	1,058	1,034
Alberta	1,073	1,033	992
British Columbia	1,036	1,051	1,006

Source: 1961 Census Bulletin 7.1-4, Table 1 and Table III.

The Native and the Foreign Born

As Table 2.8 illustrates the foreign born represented 15.6 per cent of the population of Canada at the 1961 Census, but only 9.6 per cent of the young people. It will be observed that the proportion of foreign born tends to rise fairly regularly with age, with the result that the highest proportions of foreign born occur in the age group 65 and over. This is a reflection of the high level of immigration which occurred during the period prior to 1921 and to a lesser extent to the immigration between 1921 and 1930. Although there was very heavy immigration of young people in the 1951-61 decade, these numbers were added to a much larger population and did not have the same impact on the young adult age groups as the foreign born who arrived in the earlier part of the century. This explains why at the 1961 Census the foreign born constituted a much higher proportion of the older age groups than the younger ones.

TABLE 2.8. The Foreign Born as a Percentage of the Total Population, by Age Group, Canada, (1) 1961

Age group	Foreign born
	1961
	percentage
0-4	1.7
5-9	4.4
10-14	7.4
15-24	9.6
25-34	18.2
35-44	19.3
45-54	21.9
55-64	35.8
65-69	37.7
70+	39.4
Total	15.6

(1) Includes Newfoundland in 1961.

Source: 1961 Census Bulletin 7.1-4, Table XV.

Of the immigrant population aged 20-24, 60.4 per cent arrived in the period between 1956 and 1961. This is no doubt a reflection of liberal immigration policies of the Canadian Government during this period as well as the result of certain abnormalities in the international situation. Chief among these was the Suez crisis and the Hungarian revolution of 1956 which swelled the number of immigrants to 282,000 persons in that year alone.(7)

The immigrants of the 1956-61 period comprised a large number of young people. Indeed, about one fifth of them were aged 15-24. By contrast, it will be observed from Table 2.9 that only a very small proportion of persons who were 15-24 years of age in 1961 had arrived in the period 1931-45. This is not to be interpreted as resulting from a dearth of young immigrants in that period. Rather, immigrants like the rest of us tend to grow old with the passing of the years. The majority of them would have moved into higher age groups in the span of the thirty years since their arrival. Those who still qualified as "young" in 1961 must have been eight years or younger at the time of arrival.

(7) Davis, N.H.W. and Gupta, M.L., Labour Force Characteristics of Post-war Immigrants and Native-born Canadians, 1956-67. Special Labour Force Studies No. 6, DBS, September 1968, page 8.

TABLE 2.9. Immigrant Population by Period of Immigration, by Selected Age Groups,
Canada,(1) 1961

Age group	Immigrant population	Period of immigration							
		1931-45		1946-50		1951-55		1956-61(2)	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
15-19	113,402	6,834	6.0	31,185	27.5	39,435	34.8	35,948	31.7
20-24	137,676	4,824	3.5	15,577	11.3	34,077	24.8	83,198	60.4
15-24	251,078	11,658	4.6	46,762	18.6	73,512	29.3	119,146	47.4
Canada(3)	2,844,263	120,148	4.2	303,984	10.7	567,190	19.9	635,942	22.4

(1) Includes Yukon and Northwest Territories.

(2) Includes the first five months only of 1961.

(3) Total includes the pre-1931 migration.

Source: 1961 Census Bulletin 1.3-11, Table 125.

Ethnic Origin

The distribution of young Canadians by ethnic origin differs somewhat from that of the population as a whole as far as the two main ethnic groups are concerned. Whereas, in the total population, persons of European origin exceeded those of British origin by 9.2 per cent, among young persons aged 15-24, the difference was 15.9 per cent. (See Table 2.10.)

Among the Europeans of all ages the French constituted the largest sub-group representing over 30 per cent of the population of Canada. The young people of French origin, however, constituted a larger proportion of their age group than did the French population as a whole. French teen-agers were 35.9 per cent of all European teen-agers and young adults of the French ethnic group were 33.5 per cent of all young adults.

Among the dozen or so other European ethnic groups, and among Asiatics and Native Indians and Eskimos, the distribution of young people fairly accurately reflects the distribution of the group as a whole.

TABLE 2.10. Percentage Distribution of the Population Aged 15-24, by Ethnic Group,
Canada,(1) 1961

Ethnic group	Total	Age group		
		15-24	15-19	20-24
percentage				
CANADA	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
British Isles	43.8	40.3	41.1	39.2
Other European	53.0	56.2	55.6	57.0
French	30.4	34.8	35.9	33.5
Austrian, n.o.s.	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.4
Czech and Slovak	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.4
Finnish	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3
German	5.8	5.9	5.3	6.6
Hungarian	0.7	0.6	0.5	0.8
Italian	2.5	2.4	1.8	3.1
Jewish	1.0	0.8	0.9	0.7
Netherlands	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.4
Polish	1.8	1.4	1.4	1.4
Russian	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.6
Scandinavian	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.1
Ukrainian	2.6	2.4	2.4	2.5
Other	1.9	1.7	1.4	2.1
Asiatic	0.7	0.6	0.4	0.8
Chinese	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.4
Japanese	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
Other	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
Native Indian and Eskimo	1.2	1.5	1.5	1.5
Other and not stated	1.3	1.4	1.3	1.5

(1) Includes Yukon and Northwest Territories.

Note: British Isles includes English, Irish, Scottish and Welsh; n.o.s. = not otherwise specified; Scandinavian includes Danish, Icelandic, Norwegian and Swedish.

Source: 1961 Census Bulletin 1.3-2, Table 81.

Language

Approximately 63 per cent of the young people reported in the 1961 Census that they speak English only and 20 per cent French only. So far as bilingualism is concerned, the young have the edge over their elders. Only 12.2 per cent of the total Canadian population speak the two official languages compared to nearly 17 per cent of persons between 15 and 24 years of age. This doubtless reflects the growing awareness among young people and those responsible for their education of the realities of the bicultural nature of the Canadian community.

The linguistic proficiency of the Canadian people as a whole, however, is not very meaningful given the size of the country and the diversity of the regions and provinces. Table 2.11 which sets out the distribution by provinces is more interesting and relevant.

It reveals as one would expect that Quebec was the most bilingual province in the country. What is more interesting, however, is that the young people of Quebec are more bilingual than their elders. While 32 per cent of them speak both English and French, only 25 per cent of the total Quebec population do so. New Brunswick rates next in linguistic proficiency with 19 per cent of its total population compared with 28 per cent of its young people being able to speak both languages. The disparity between the young and the general population is similar to that which exists in Quebec. Ontario, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia and Manitoba take third place and the gap between the young and the rest of the population is considerably narrower. The three Western Provinces and Newfoundland are the least bilingual provinces and the gap between the young people and the rest of the population is very narrow.

TABLE 2.11. Percentage Distribution of the Population by Age Group
and Official Language, by Provinces, 1961

Province	Age group percentage			
	15-19	20-24	15-24	Total
<u>Newfoundland</u>				
English only	98.9	97.6	98.4	98.5
French only	(1)	0.2	0.1	0.1
English and French	0.9	1.9	1.3	1.2
<u>Prince Edward Island</u>				
English only	92.1	90.6	91.5	91.1
French only	0.3	0.3	0.3	1.2
English and French	7.6	8.9	8.1	7.6
<u>Nova Scotia</u>				
English only	93.0	91.5	92.3	92.9
French only	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.8
English and French	6.7	8.0	7.3	6.1
<u>New Brunswick</u>				
English only	56.2	60.6	58.0	62.0
French only	16.4	10.7	14.0	18.7
English and French	27.3	28.5	27.8	19.0
<u>Quebec</u>				
English only	7.2	8.4	7.7	11.6
French only	63.9	53.4	59.3	61.9
English and French	28.5	37.2	32.4	25.4
<u>Ontario</u>				
English only	87.1	85.2	86.2	89.0
French only	0.8	0.8	0.8	1.5
English and French	11.5	12.0	11.7	7.9
<u>Manitoba</u>				
English only	90.0	88.4	89.3	89.6
French only	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.9
English and French	9.6	10.4	10.0	7.4
<u>Saskatchewan</u>				
English only	94.4	93.3	93.9	93.6
French only	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.4
English and French	5.2	5.9	5.5	4.5
<u>Alberta</u>				
English only	94.5	93.1	93.9	94.1
French only	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.4
English and French	5.2	5.9	5.5	4.3
<u>British Columbia</u>				
English only	96.3	94.2	95.3	95.3
French only	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.2
English and French	3.5	4.7	4.1	3.5

(1) Less than 0.05.

Source: Cat. 92-556, 1961 Census Bulletin 1.3-5, Table 96.

As Table 2.12 indicates bilingualism was fairly widespread in urban areas and was least so on the farms. Only 8.4 per cent of farm youth spoke both languages compared to 16.9 per cent of all young people and 19.7 per cent of young urban dwellers.

TABLE 2.12. Percentage Distribution of the Population by Age Group and Official Language, Rural and Urban, Canada,(1) 1961

Official language	Age group			Total
	15-19	20-24	15-24	
percentage				
<u>Canada</u>				
English only	62.3	62.9	62.6	67.4
French only	21.8	17.4	19.8	19.1
English and French	15.6	18.5	16.9	12.2
Neither English nor French	0.4	1.2	0.8	1.3
<u>Rural farm</u>				
English only	60.7	60.3	60.6	67.1
French only	31.1	30.5	30.9	26.5
English and French	8.1	9.0	8.4	5.7
Neither English nor French	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.7
<u>Rural non farm</u>				
English only	65.3	66.5	65.8	68.3
French only	22.4	19.1	21.0	20.9
English and French	11.6	13.2	12.3	9.2
Neither English nor French	0.6	1.2	0.9	1.6
<u>Urban</u>				
English only	61.7	62.4	62.0	67.1
French only	19.4	15.2	17.4	17.5
English and French	18.5	21.0	19.7	14.1
Neither English nor French	0.4	1.3	0.8	1.3

(1) Includes Yukon and Northwest Territories.

Source: 1961 Census Bulletin 1.3-5, Table 95.

Marital Status

Variations in the proportion of married and single persons in a population is a complex function of changes in social norms and expectations, fluctuations in economic growth, facilities for higher education, employment opportunities and conditions of war and peace. These interact with the more significant demographic determinants such as birth rate, death rate and rates of migration. The resultant ratio of married to single persons reflects the interplay of these economic and demographic factors. The trend in the marital status of the young Canadian appears to reflect rather vividly this interrelationship.

Between the censuses of 1941 and 1961 there had been a tremendous increase in the proportion of persons aged 15-24 years who were married. As Table 2.13 illustrates, in 1941, 14.7 per cent were married. By 1961 the proportion had risen to 23 per cent. The bulk of this growth, however, had taken place in the first decade from 1941 to 1951, a period which spanned the Second World War and the early part of the Korean conflict. Such periods are traditionally noted for the upsurge in marriages which accompanies them, and the increase of 7 percentage points in the decade under discussion seems to confirm that this one was no exception to the general rule. In the following decade from 1951 to 1961 the growth in the proportion of married persons declined to a mere 1.3 percentage points. See Table 2.13.

The increase in the proportion of young people who were married between 1941 and 1961 occurred among teen-agers as well as among young adults; but the major contribution to the increase came from the young adults aged 20-24. In the twenty-year period under discussion the proportion of married persons had increased by 17.6 per cent and the major part of the increase had taken place in the first decade.

The changing proportions of men and women who were married between 1941 and 1961 are quite interesting. The proportion of married women had increased from 21.5 per cent to 31.9 per cent, an increase of 10.4 percentage points. The change in the proportion of young married men was less marked, rising by 6.4 percentage points.

In the population as a whole the proportion of males and females married was roughly equal. However, for the age group with which we are primarily concerned in this study, there were great disparities in the proportion of females married relative to males. In the 15-24-year-old group as well as among teen-agers and young adults, the proportion of married females far exceeded the proportion of married males in each of the decennial censuses from 1941 to 1961, underlying the well-documented fact that girls tend to marry earlier than boys and to marry boys who are older than themselves. It will be observed that the disparity has declined since 1941 when there was something less than one married male to three married females. By 1951 the ratio had risen to a little over one to two, but has not changed materially since that date. These changes would seem to indicate that boys have been marrying at a younger age, and this is indeed borne out by the statistics which reveal that the median age at marriage of Canadian males had dropped between 1941 and 1951 from 26.3 years to 24.7 years. That young women marry earlier than young men is further emphasized by the fact that in 1961, in the group aged 15-24 while the proportion of single females was just over double that of married females, the ratio of single to married males was almost six to one.

TABLE 2.13. Percentage Distribution of Selected Age Groups by Marital Status and Sex, Canada, 1941-61

Marital status and age group	1941			1951			1961		
	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F
<u>Single</u>									
15-19	96.9	99.5	94.2	95.6	99.0	92.1	95.0	98.7	91.2
20-24	72.4	83.7	61.0	61.3	74.4	48.5	54.9	69.5	40.5
15-24	85.1	92.0	78.2	78.2	86.7	69.8	76.9	85.7	68.0
<u>Married</u>									
15-19	3.0	0.5	5.7	4.4	1.0	7.9	4.9	1.3	8.7
20-24	27.3	16.1	38.5	38.5	25.5	51.2	44.9	30.4	59.2
15-24	14.7	7.9	21.5	21.7	13.3	30.1	23.0	14.3	31.9

Sources: 1941 Census Vol. III, Table 7; 1951 Census Vol. II, Table 1; 1961 Census Bulletin 1.3-1, Table 78.

Place of residence is of some significance in influencing the age at which people tend to marry. Table 2.14 sets out the distribution by marital status and place of residence of young people and the population as a whole at the time of the 1961 Census.

In the population as a whole the proportion of urban dwellers who were married was slightly greater than the national average. Among young people, however, both teen-agers and young adults, the tendency is for larger proportions to be married if they live in rural non-farm areas than if they live in urban areas or on the farm. This may be related to the fact that young people in cities are busy pursuing their education and training courses of one kind or another and therefore tend to postpone marriage. Many rural non-farm dwellers are, in fact, city workers who live in rural areas adjoining large cities and commute to and from the city daily.

Rural farm dwellers have the lowest proportion of married persons: 63.3 per cent compared to 66.6 per cent for Canada as a whole. The small proportion of farm teen-agers and young persons who are married relative to the urban and rural non-farm residents is quite remarkable. This is largely explained by the poor opportunities for employment and the low wages of farm workers. These factors inhibit the tendency to marry and act as a spur to out-migration away from the farm. The bulk of those who remain are likely to be children living at home employed as unpaid family workers.

TABLE 2.14. Percentage Distribution of Selected Age Groups by Marital Status,
Rural and Urban, Canada,(1) 1961

Age group	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced
percentage				
Canada	26.5	66.6	6.5	0.4
15-19	95.0	4.9	(2)	(2)
20-24	54.9	44.9	0.1	0.1
Rural farm	32.3	63.3	4.2	0.1
15-19	97.6	2.4	(2)	(2)
20-24	70.7	29.2	0.1	(2)
Rural non-farm	26.5	66.7	6.5	0.3
15-19	93.7	6.3	(2)	(2)
20-24	49.7	50.1	0.1	0.1
Urban	25.6	67.1	6.8	0.5
15-19	94.9	5.1	(2)	(2)
20-24	54.1	45.7	0.1	0.1

(1) Includes Yukon and Northwest Territories.

(2) Less than 0.05.

Source: 1961 Census Bulletin 1.3-1, Table 78.

Summary

In this chapter an attempt has been made to present some of the demographic characteristics of the young people of Canada. This is considered as important background material against which to study and analyse the social and economic features of this important section of the population. A brief summary of the findings now follows.

The changing structure of the Canadian population which has its origin mainly in changes in the patterns and level of fertility has resulted in a decline in the proportion of young people from 20 per cent to 14.3 per cent in the course of the sixty years since the turn of the century. The decline affected both teen-agers and young adults. The rate of change of both sub-groups, but especially the teen-agers, has fluctuated rather widely from one census period to another, reflecting the complex mixture of low birth rates of the early forties and the baby boom of the post-war period. In the last intercensal period from 1951 to 1961, the rate of growth of the teenage population was greater than the population as a whole and was the third largest increase experienced by any age group. Young adults, on the other hand, had one of the smallest rates, but compared to the 2.9 per cent increase in the preceding decade the growth by 8.6 per cent between 1951 and 1961 represented a very remarkable change. There were also considerable variations in the rate of growth between the provinces. British Columbia's teen-age population increased by 60 per cent in the 1951-61 decade compared to Saskatchewan's 6.4 per cent.

Young adults had an above-average tendency to settle in urban centres, a condition which is explained in terms of the lack of employment opportunities on farms and the pull of the city with its better educational and work opportunities. Teenagers, however, stayed on at the farm in greater proportions, a fact which reflects basic differences in the orientation of the two age groups.

The sex composition of teen-agers follows that of the total population with a predominance of males over females. The excess of females which appeared in the 20-24-year-old group is probably due to some underenumeration of males in the 1961 Census.

Ten per cent of the young Canadians were foreign born, and nearly half of them had arrived here in the period 1956-61. Certain differences in ethnic origin as between the young people and the total population are apparent from a breakdown by age groups. Whereas in the total population persons of European origin exceeded those of British origin by 9 per cent, among young people 15-24, the difference was 16 per cent. Also young people of French origin, the major ethnic group after the British, constituted a larger proportion of their age group than did the French population as a whole.

The linguistic ability of young people as measured by their knowledge of the two official languages was superior to that of the total Canadian population in every province. Wide differences in linguistic proficiency existed both among young people and the total population from one province to the next, with Quebec and New Brunswick rating highest, and the three Western Provinces and Newfoundland, lowest. Young people tended to be more bilingual if they resided in urban centres than if they lived on the farms or in rural areas.

The years between 1941-51 witnessed tremendous increases in the proportion of young people who were married, a fact which underlies the increased fertility of the succeeding decade. This period also saw the general reduction in the median age at marriage of men from 26.3 years to 24.7 years. Young people were least likely to be married if they lived on farms.

Having looked at the population size and structure, sex composition, ethnic origin, place of birth, language and marital status, we proceed in the next chapter to focus the analysis on the organization and structure of the young Canadian family and to draw attention to the living arrangements of various types of families.

CHAPTER III

THE YOUNG FAMILY

The type and composition of the family, its size and structure and the nature of its living arrangements form the subject matter of this chapter. These characteristics tend to have direct influence upon the economic well-being of the family and, for that reason, they are considered an essential part of the profile of the young Canadian.

The 1961 Census defined the family as a married couple with or without sons or daughters who have never married regardless of age; or a parent with one or more unmarried sons and daughters living in the same dwelling unit.(8) According to this definition Canada had 4.1 million families on June 1, 1961. Of this total number, 187,000 were families whose heads were under twenty-five years of age. Thus, 4.5 per cent of all Canadian families were young families.

The head of the family is usually a male person, and 94.1 per cent of all young family heads under 25 years of age were men; nearly 6 per cent of young families had female heads, a phenomenon which may be largely accounted for either by divorce, desertion, separation, or death of the spouse. As Table 3.1 indicates, the distribution of heads of families, by sex, is almost identical for young families as for all families.

TABLE 3.1. Percentage Distribution of Families by Sex of Head, Canada,(1) 1961

Sex of head	All family heads under 25(2)		All family heads	
	No.	%	No.	%
All family heads	187,077	100.0	4,147,444	100.0
Male head	176,084	94.1	3,875,229	93.4
Female head	10,993	5.9	272,215	6.6

(1) Includes Yukon and Northwest Territories.

(2) Family data broken down by 15-19 and 20-24-year age groups are not available.

Source: 1961 Census Bulletin 2.1-7, Table 73.

Family Types

Families are classified according to the existence of various types of living arrangements between the spouses. Structurally complete families or normal families are those in which husband and wife are both present. Where there is only one partner and the marital status is reported "married", families are designated according to whether the husband only or the wife only is present; the census data however, do not specify whether such persons are living apart because they are separated or deserted, or for other social or economic reasons.

Table 3.2 which shows the distribution of families by structural type, indicates that the proportion of structurally complete families among the under twenty-five age group does not differ materially from that of the population as a whole. There is, however, a small difference in favour of young families which can be explained by demographic factors such as the higher incidence of death in the total population 15 years and over compared with that in the age group 15-24 years. As Table 3.3 shows, 6.5 per cent of the population in the former group were widowed compared to 0.1 per cent in the latter. The percentage of divorces was also greater in the adult population.

TABLE 3.2. Percentage Distribution of Families with Heads Under 25 Years of Age, by Structural Type of Family, Canada,(1) 1961

Type of family	Family heads under 25 years		All family heads	
	No.	%	No.	%
Family heads	187,077	100.0	4,147,444	100.0
Husband and wife at home	174,574	93.3	3,800,026	91.6
Husband only at home	883	0.5	27,679	0.7
Wife only at home	7,955	4.2	81,120	2.0
Widowed male head	37	(2)	42,154	1.0
Widowed female head	571	0.3	171,503	4.1

(1) Includes Yukon and Northwest Territories.

(2) Less than 0.05 per cent.

Source: 1961 Census Bulletin 7.2-1, Table 7.

TABLE 3.3. Distribution of the Population 15-24 Years of Age, Widowed and Divorced, Canada,(1) 1961

Status	Population 15-24	Population 15 and over
	percentage	
Widowed	0.1	6.5
Divorced	(2)	0.4

(1) Includes Yukon and Northwest Territories.

(2) Less than 0.05 per cent.

Source: 1961 Bulletin 1.3-1, Introductory Table.

These two factors of higher death and divorce rates among the total adult population, however, do not tell the whole story. Separation for one reason or another is an important contributor to structural incompleteness, but statistics on this variable could not be available. The data which we have, show that two per cent of all families in Canada consisted of wife only at home. The proportion of such family types among young families was more than twice as high as the national average; 4.2 per cent of all young families were headed by the wife only. This

means that 7,955 young women under 25 years of age had the responsibility of heading a family.

It does not, however, imply that all of them had to shoulder the financial responsibility of supporting the family of which they were the head, although in certain instances such may well have been the case. Where legal separation is involved it may be presumed that financial support has been arranged through the courts. But quite apart from this, the statistics on wife only at home contain an uncertain number of women who live apart from their husbands, not for marital causes, but because the husbands are posted away from home for extended periods of time, either in the army or the foreign service or for some other unspecified reason.

Family Size

Young families had a total of 178,663 children, 96.5 per cent of whom were under six years of age. Table 3.4 shows that young families contained a far larger proportion of these pre-school children than is averaged for all families in Canada, a situation which is explained by the fact that these women are at the beginning of the childbearing cycle. This has important implications for the economic activity of married women. The presence of pre-school children is an inhibiting influence upon the ability of the married woman to enter, or stay on in the labour force unless arrangements can be made for the care and protection of the children during working hours. As may be seen from Table 3.5, 36 per cent of these young families were childless compared with 29 per cent of families in general. The practical consequence of this demographic condition is that the young married woman has greater opportunity of continuing to be economically active than married women in general. The birth of the first child usually signals withdrawal from the labour market and it is assumed that additional births increase the restraints. Thus, of the structurally complete families where the husband and wife were both present, there were 101,877 wives under 25 years of age in the labour force. Table 3.6 indicates that approximately 64 per cent of them were childless, 24 per cent had one child only and 12 per cent had two plus children under fifteen years of age. It would seem from these statistics that the possibility of a young wife who lives with her husband remaining in the labour force is decidedly influenced first, by the presence of any children, and secondly, by the number of children under fifteen years of age. As the size of the family grows the proportion of young wives in the labour force diminishes. The pattern is not quite so well defined in the case of all wives in general. Where there are no children under 15 years of age, half of this group are in the labour force. Where there is one child only, about one-fifth stay on. However, as the size of the family increases to two or more children the proportion of all wives in the labour force rises to 29 per cent. This trend is quite the opposite of that evidenced by young wives, and seems to follow from the fact that 44 per cent of the children of all families are from six to fourteen years of age and would therefore be of school age. With the children at school the possibility of mothers going out to work is greater. Ninety-six per cent of the children of young wives are of pre-school age, hence their low participation rate.

TABLE 3.4. Number and Percentage Distribution of Children Under 6 Years of Age, and 6-14 Years of Age, by Age of Head of Family, Canada,(1) 1961

Age of head	Children at home by age				
	Total	Under 6 years		6-14 years	
		No.	%	No.	%
All family heads	7,777,137	2,661,724	34.2	3,446,569	44.3
Heads under 25	178,663	172,397	96.5	4,793	2.7

(1) Includes Yukon and Northwest Territories.

Source: 1961 Census Bulletin 2.1-9, Table 80.

TABLE 3.5. Percentage Distribution of Families by Number of Children and Age of Family Head, Canada,(1) 1961

Age of head	Number of children				
	0	1	2	3-4	5+
percentage					
All family heads	29.3	20.2	20.6	20.9	8.9
Heads under 25	36.4	39.7	17.7	5.9	0.3

(1) Includes Yukon and Northwest Territories.

Source: 1961 Census Bulletin 2.1-9, Table 80.

TABLE 3.6. Husband-Wife Families with Wife in the Labour Force, by Age of Wife and Number of Children Under 15 Years of Age at Home

Age of wife	Total families	Families by number of children under 15 years					
		0		1		2+	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Under 25	101,877	65,328	64.1	24,431	24.0	12,118	11.9
All wives	791,685	392,902	49.6	170,977	21.6	227,806	28.8

Source: 1961 Census Bulletin 2.1-11, Table 93.

The disparity between the distribution of young families and all families increases as the number of children per family grows. It will be seen from Table 3.5 that only 5.9 per cent of the "under twenty-fives" had 3-4 children compared to 20.9 per cent of all families. The average of one child per young family is also well below the average of 1.9 children per family among all families; this is as

expected because the female under 25 years has still to go through significant portion of her fertile period. There were, however, important differences in the distribution of young families by the average number of children, depending upon the structural type of the family. These are shown in Table 3.7 which reveals that 38.2 per cent of structurally complete families had only one child compared with 62.8 per cent with husband only at home. This is, however, not a valid comparison because of the inherent bias caused by the census definition of "family". A one-parent family must have at least one child to constitute a family, whereas a normal (husband-wife) family may be childless but still a family by census definition. In the case of larger families it is interesting to note that greater proportions of incomplete families had 3-4 children than was the case for structurally complete families. For example, in families with husband only at home, and wife only at home, the proportions with 3-4 children were 8.3 per cent and 12.5 per cent, respectively. These compare with 5.5 per cent of structurally complete families. It is tempting to speculate that large families exert pressures which lead to the break-up of the marriage to a greater degree than is the case with families in which there are fewer children. However, the evidence is too sketchy for establishing a causal relationship. It must be borne in mind also that the statistics on wife only at home includes families who are living apart for other than marital causes. Caution is required in interpreting the data on husband only at home as this is a relatively small number.

There is also another way of interpreting these figures which takes the view that greater proportions of broken families had 3-4 children because the probability of remarriage may be inversely proportional to the number of children. However, in the absence of distributions by number of times married it is not possible to be conclusive and the confounding of cause and effect continues to blur the issue. The table also shows that the average number of persons in Canadian families was 3.9. Young families tended to have fewer persons; the average was 2.9 persons, and this number tended to decline to 2.4 persons when the head of the household was a widowed male.

TABLE 3.7. Percentage Distribution of Families with Heads Under 25 Years of Age According to Marital Status and Sex of Head, by Average Number of Unmarried Children Under 25 at Home, Canada,(1) 1961

Structural type	Total	Families by number of children					Average number of children per family	Average number of persons per family
		0	1	2	3-4	5+		
	No.	percentage						
<u>All family heads</u>								
Canada	4,147,444	29.3	20.2	20.6	20.9	8.9	1.9	3.9
All family heads under 25	187,077	36.4	39.7	17.7	5.9	0.3	1.0	2.9
Husband and wife at home under 25 ...	174,574	38.9	38.2	17.1	5.5	0.2	0.9	2.9
Husband only at home under 25 ...	883	1.6*	62.8	26.6	8.3	0.7	1.5	2.5
Wife only at home under 25	7,955	0.7*	57.2	28.5	12.5	1.1	1.6	2.6
Widowed male head under 25	37	(2)*	70.3	21.6	8.1	(2)	1.4	2.4
Widowed female head under 25	571	0.4*	46.8	32.4	19.1	1.4	1.8	2.8

(1) Includes Yukon and Northwest Territories.

(2) Less than 0.05 per cent.

* Due to the census definition of the family, these figures are not likely to be valid. They are probably the result of mechanical error.

Source: 1961 Census Bulletin 7.2-1, Tables 7 and 8.

Living Arrangements

The typical pattern of living arrangements of Canadian families is one in which each family maintains its own separate household. This is the normal arrangement although attainment of it by many Canadian families is a phenomenon of the period since the end of the Second World War. Such departures from this practice as do exist are probably due to very special reasons. Cases of elderly widowed parents living with their children are not uncommon although the idea of Homes for the Aged is becoming more acceptable. Table 3.8 presents the distribution of families who maintain their own household by type and age of head. It will be seen that 94.3 per cent of all families exhibited the normal pattern of separate households. However, in families where the head was under 25 years of age, this was less general. Only something over three quarters of all young families maintained their own household.

The tendency to follow the normal living pattern varied with differences in the structural type of the family. As the table indicates, these variations were apparent both for young families and for all families in general. The structurally complete family in which both husband and wife were present was the type most given to maintaining its own household, and the disparity between the proportion of young families and all families was least in this kind of family organization. A large majority of the families in this category of both age groups maintained their own household.

TABLE 3.8. Percentage Distribution of Families by Type and Age of Head Maintaining Own Household, Canada,(1) 1961

Type of family	Maintaining own household	
	All family heads under 25	All family heads
percentage		
All family heads	78.6	94.3
Both husband and wife present	82.2	95.4
Husband only present	35.0	77.2
Wife only present	26.2	68.1

(1) Includes Yukon and Northwest Territories.

Source: 1961 Census Bulletin 7.2-1, Tables 7 and 8.

The alternatives to the normal pattern of living arrangements are twofold. The options are either to live with relatives or to become lodgers. Table 3.9 sets out the distribution of young families and all families according to the nature of the shared accommodation which they occupy. Slightly more than one in five young families shared accommodation with others. Fifteen per cent of them lived with relatives and nearly 7 per cent as lodgers. Families with widowed male heads were the type most likely to share accommodation and the majority of them lived with relatives. Of the structurally incomplete families, those with widowed female heads were the ones least likely to share accommodation. Separated couples showed greater inclination to live as lodgers than any other family type. However, the number of persons in these categories is rather too small to have any real significance.

Broken families displayed a more tenuous propensity to maintain their own household. Families with husband only at home were more likely to do so than those where the wife only was at home. This is doubtless related to the greater financial ability of men to meet the expenses of maintaining a separate household. Women are usually saddled with the responsibility of keeping the children, and this combined with their lesser earning ability is a powerful factor influencing them to share accommodation with relatives when the family relationship breaks up. This is true both for the "under twenty-fives" and for broken families in general but the disparity between these two age groups was very great; a far smaller proportion of the young tended to maintain their own establishment. Thus, whereas 77.2 per cent of all families with husband only at home maintained their own household, only 35 per cent of such families did so if the husband was under 25. In the case of young families with wife only at home the proportion of those maintaining their own households was hardly more than one in four.

It would seem, then, that age and sex are important factors in the decision of separated couples to continue living in their own establishment. They are, however, not the only factors. Financial considerations play an important role.

TABLE 3.9. Percentage Distribution of Families Classified According to Marital Status and Sex of Head Under 25 Years of Age, by Type of Living Arrangements, Canada, (1) 1961

Marital status and sex of heads of families	Total families	Living arrangements						
		Main- taining own house- hold	Not maintaining own household					
			Total(2)	Related	Lodging			
		No.	%	percentage				
<u>All family heads</u>								
Canada	4,147,444	100.0	94.3	5.7	3.8	1.7		
Under 25	187,077	100.0	78.6	21.4	14.6	6.5		
<u>Husband and wife at home</u>								
Canada	3,800,026	100.0	95.4	4.6	3.0	1.5		
Under 25	174,574	100.0	82.2	17.8	11.9	5.8		
<u>Husband only at home</u>								
Canada	27,679	100.0	77.2	22.8	16.0	6.4		
Under 25	883	100.0	35.0	65.0	51.1	12.9		
<u>Wife only at home</u>								
Canada	81,120	100.0	68.1	31.9	21.4	8.4		
Under 25	7,955	100.0	26.2	73.8	57.4	14.5		
<u>Widowed male head</u>								
Canada	42,154	100.0	90.3	9.7	7.8	1.8		
Under 25	37	100.0	24.3	75.7	70.3	5.4		
<u>Widowed female head</u>								
Canada	171,503	100.0	91.1	8.9	6.8	1.7		
Under 25	571	100.0	49.0	51.0	44.0	5.8		

(1) Includes Yukon and Northwest Territories.

(2) Includes other types of families not maintaining own household.

Sources: 1961 Census Bulletin 2.1-7, Table 73; and Bulletin 7.2-1, Tables 7 and 8.

Factors Influencing the Sharing of Accommodation

Economic conditions are extremely relevant in the decision of young people not to maintain their own household. Table 3.10 shows the distribution of wage-earning families classified according to the earnings of the head of the household and the type of living arrangements. It will be seen that in young families as well as in all families in general, the proportion of those who maintain their own household increases with an increase in earnings up to the \$10,000 bracket. When earnings of the head of the young family were under \$2,000, 32.6 per cent shared accommodation and three quarters of these shared with relatives. This proportion fell to 10.4 per cent in the earnings bracket \$4,000-\$5,000 and to 8 per cent when earnings rose to \$5,000-\$6,000.

However, the fact that some families of both age categories continued to share accommodation even when they were in a high earnings bracket is significant. In 1961, 6 per cent of young families in the earnings bracket \$7,000-\$9,999 and 9.2 per cent in the over \$10,000 bracket were either living with relatives or as lodgers. Of those in the \$10,000 plus group, 7.1 per cent lived with relatives. On the other hand, it must be noted that at equivalent levels of earnings smaller proportions of all families shared accommodation than did young families. Thus, for example, in the bracket \$6,000-\$7,000, only 1.5 per cent of all families shared accommodation compared to 6.5 per cent of young families and even in the very low range of \$2,000-\$3,000, 9.4 per cent of all families shared living quarters compared with 21.4 per cent of young families. It would appear then, that in the early years of marriage, young couples are prepared to live with relatives for a while in order to save money to buy a house or to continue their education or for some other goal which they consider to be important. It may even be that they continue living with their parents in order to help the latter financially. However, it must be concluded that though economic considerations may not be the only circumstance which influences young families to share accommodation, nevertheless they are very powerful factors.

TABLE 3.10. Percentage Distribution of all Wage-earner Families and Those with Heads Under 25 Years of Age Classified According to Earnings of Head, by Type of Living Arrangements, Canada,(1) 1961

Earnings	All wage-earner families			Wage-earner families with heads under 25		
	Maintaining own household	Living with relatives	Lodging	Maintaining own household	Living with relatives	Lodging
percentage						
All wage-earner heads	94.3	3.5	2.0	81.3	12.1	6.3
Under \$2,000	87.4	8.0	4.0	66.5	24.4	8.2
\$ 2,000-\$2,999 ..	90.4	5.9	3.5	78.5	14.2	7.2
3,000- 3,999 ..	93.9	3.6	2.4	85.5	8.5	6.0
4,000- 4,999 ..	96.3	2.2	1.4	89.5	5.8	4.6
5,000- 5,999 ..	97.6	1.5	0.9	92.0	4.2	3.8
6,000- 6,999 ..	98.4	1.0	0.5	93.5	3.5	3.0
7,000- 9,999 ..	99.1	0.6	0.3	93.9	3.1	2.9
10,000 and over	99.5	0.3	0.1	90.7	7.1	2.1

(1) Includes Yukon and Northwest Territories.

Source: 1961 Census Bulletin 7.2-1, Table 9.

Working Wives

Young couples exhibit considerable co-operation in economic matters and share to a degree in the earning of family income. Table 3.11 sets out the distribution of structurally complete families with heads under twenty-five years of age in which the wife was a member of the labour force and a wage-earner in 1961. In one out of every four such families the wife was in the labour force. This compares with one

out of every five families in general. The higher incidence of young families who have no children (see Table 3.5), no doubt, contributes to the greater participation of young wives in the labour force. The table also indicates that 24.4 per cent of young wives earned wages compared to 17.3 per cent of all wives.

TABLE 3.11. Percentage Distribution of Husband-Wife Families According to Wife's Participation in the Labour Force, and According to Wife being a Wage-earner, for the Group with Head Under 25 Years of Age, Canada, (1) 1961

Wife's status	All husband-wife families		Husband-wife families with head under 25	
	No.	%	No.	%
All husband-wife families	3,800,026	100.0	393,216	100.0
Wife in labour force	791,685	20.8	101,877	25.9
Wife a wage-earner(2)	658,526	17.3	96,045	24.4

(1) Includes Yukon and Northwest Territories.

(2) Includes wage-earner wives not reporting earnings.

Source: 1961 Census Bulletin 7.2-1, Table 10.

Earnings of Working Wives

The earnings of working wives varied considerably. Table 3.12 sets out the distribution of families in which the wife was a wage-earner, by size of earnings. Most working wives earned relatively little. This may be partly a consequence of engaging in part-time work, or of working in those occupations and industries which pay low wages. The largest proportion of young working wives earned between two and three thousand dollars per annum. Nearly one in three were in this income bracket compared with one in four of all working wives. In the highest earnings bracket of \$5,000 and over, young working wives rated very poorly, compared to working wives in general. Only 0.4 per cent of young wives earned in this upper bracket in contrast to the 2.1 per cent of all wives whose greater age and experience were probably the chief factors in putting them in this category.

TABLE 3.12. Percentage Distribution of Husband-Wife Families with Wife a Wage-earner, by Earnings of Wife, Canada,(1) 1961

Earnings	All husband-wife families		Husband-wife families with head under 25	
	No.	%	No.	%
All wage-earner(2) wives	658,526	100.0	96,045	100.0
Earnings under \$1,000	172,678	26.2	22,194	23.1
\$1,000-\$1,999	162,994	24.8	20,984	21.8
2,000- 2,999	166,070	25.2	31,408	32.7
3,000- 4,999	129,192	19.6	19,382	20.2
5,000 and over	13,537	2.1	403	0.4

(1) Includes Yukon and Northwest Territories.

(2) Includes wage-earner wives not reporting earnings.

Source: 1961 Census Bulletin 7.2-1, Table 10.

Summary

The young family tends to adopt the same pattern of living as all families in Canada. By definition, the head of the family is a male person if both husband and wife are present. This is usually the case, but exceptions to this rule occur both among young people and more generally in the population as a whole. In each of these groups there were between six and seven per cent of families in which the head was a female, a circumstance which is attributable to the fact of divorce, desertion, separation or death of the spouse.

More than 90 per cent of families in both age categories were structurally complete, having husband and wife at home. More young families, however, had the wife only at home than was the case with all families. The statistics reveal that there were 4.2 per cent of young families with wife only at home, although many of these would have been persons living apart for other than marital reasons. The average number of persons per young family was 2.9 and the average number of children was 1.0. These figures compare with 3.9 persons and 1.9 children for families in general.

Ninety-seven per cent of the children of young families were under six years of age as might be expected from the fact that the wives are at the beginning of the childbearing cycle. This has important bearing upon the economic activity of young married women. The data seem to confirm the observation that the probability of young wives staying in the labour force is reduced with the birth of the first child, and the arrival of each additional child constitutes a further deterrent.

The vast majority of all families maintained their own separate household, although young families did do to a somewhat lesser degree. Although maintenance of a separate household is the ideal and normal type of living arrangement, adherence to it varied with variations in the structural type of the family and with the size of the family income.

Considerable co-operation exists between husband and wife in the economic sphere. One in four young wives was in the labour force compared with one in five for the population as a whole. Twenty-five per cent of young wives earned wages but

these were generally at the relatively low level of between two and three thousand dollars per annum.

We have seen that the living arrangements of young families vary with the variations in the type and size of the family and with the family income; we have also noted that young couples co-operate to a considerable degree in the earnings of family income although the amount, which the wives bring in, is usually relatively small. In the next chapter we shall look at the education of young Canadians and attempt to measure the degree of progress which has been made in the field since the census of 1951.

CHAPTER IV

EDUCATION

Attempts to measure and evaluate the degree of educational attainment of a population are fraught with difficulties; conceptual problems obtrude at the outset; questions as to what constitutes educational attainment rise to the fore; decisions have to be taken as to whether the measure of education is the length of exposure to teaching in an educational institution or whether it is the accomplishment implied by having reached a certain grade of schooling.

Number of years of schooling by itself is inadequate as a yardstick of attainment. It takes no account of acceleration of bright students or failures and consequent repetition of grades of the less adept ones. As a result, equivalent number of years of schooling could be indicative of considerably differing degrees of educational achievement. Inter-group comparisons based on years of attendance at school are therefore less meaningful. Qualitatively they convey very little.

On the other hand, the concept of the grade level reached, presents equally serious difficulties. The educational system varies from province to province and grade names imply different qualitative standards according to the geographical context. Moreover, there have been changes in the grade organization of schools and in the terminology used over the years, so that there are problems of reporting education received under older systems in terms of the current one. Of a similar nature is the difficulty experienced in interpreting and equating foreign education to the Canadian equivalent. With our large immigrant population many of whom have received substantial part of their schooling in their countries of origin, any attempt to measure the educational attainment of the Canadian people in terms of the "grade level" reached (as an index), has to take into consideration the complexities and diversities involved.

Nevertheless, the United Nations and the Inter-American Statistical Institute have for some time advocated the "grade level" system, and in 1961 the Census of Canada, having decided that the advantages of reporting the education statistics qualitatively outweighs the disadvantage caused by the difficulties of obtaining the data in a consistent form, switched from the "years of schooling" concept to the "grade level" reached. As a result we were able to obtain for the first time a complete picture of the general educational level of the entire Canadian population, both those currently attending school and those who had terminated their formal education as of June 1961. From these data it is possible to describe the level of education attained in terms of certain broad well-defined categories which have universal connotations, such as elementary, secondary or university training.

Statistical data on education based on the "grade level" concept, however provide only a limited guide as to the educational achievement of the Canadian people since it is restricted to formal education received at schools or universities and takes no account of strictly vocational training such as teachers' or nurses' training, business college courses, trade and technical schooling or on job training which is a very important source of training in certain occupations and industries; nor does it give any consideration to the wide variety of cultural courses offered by numerous organizations not strictly within the formal educational system.

Educational Attainment

Nevertheless, within the limitations imposed by the available data, this chapter attempts to describe the educational attainments of the young Canadian. Looking at the age group 15-24 as a whole, including both those who were attending school and those who had left school by June 1961, it was found, as Table 4.1 indicates, that 66.9 per cent had some secondary education. However, just over half of these had three to five years of high school, the rest of them having dropped out in the first two years. Higher education attracted 5.8 per cent of the population in this age group but only 1.1 per cent of them had acquired a university degree. The data give no indication of the numbers who has post-graduate training of any kind.

TABLE 4.1. Number and Percentage of the Total Population Aged 15-19 and 20-24,
Both Attending and Not Attending School, by Highest Grade Attended,
Canada, (1) 1961

Schooling	15-24		15-19		20-24	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
TOTAL	2,616,205	100.0	1,432,559	100.0	1,183,646	100.0
No schooling	13,996	0.5	6,620	0.5	7,376	0.6
Elementary	700,663	26.8	366,065	25.6	334,598	28.3
Less than 5 years	54,176	2.1	24,978	1.7	29,198	2.5
5 years +	646,487	24.7	341,087	23.8	305,400	25.8
Secondary	1,749,626	66.9	1,023,045	71.4	726,581	61.4
1-2 years	829,195	31.7	528,292	36.9	300,903	25.4
3-5 years	920,431	35.2	494,753	34.5	425,678	36.0
Some university	122,235	4.7	36,142	2.5	86,093	7.3
University degree	29,685	1.1	687	0.0	28,998	2.4

(1) Includes Yukon and Northwest Territories.

Source: 1961 Census Bulletin 1.3-6, Tables 99 and 102.

When the young Canadian is separated into the component age groups 15-19 and 20-24, the picture changes somewhat and we find that 34.5 per cent of the 15-19-year olds had 3-5 years of secondary school and 2.5 per cent had some university education. However, inasmuch as 58.5 per cent of this age group were still attending school these figures must be considered as representing the attainment of the group at that point in time only. Comparisons with the 20-24-year olds would not be of any significance since 92 per cent of this age group had left school and can be presumed to have terminated their formal schooling. Of this older group 9.7 per cent had some university education and 2.4 per cent of them had at least one degree.

Table 4.2 compares the school achievements of those who were still attending school and those who had terminated their formal education at the time of the 1961 Census. This table indicates that teen-agers who were attending school in 1961 had much more education than those who were not. Thus, of those attending school, 81.1 per cent had some secondary education compared with 57.7 per cent of those not attending, and 41.2 per cent of the former had 3-5 years of secondary school compared to 25.2 per cent of the latter. Of the 20-24-year olds who were still in school 61.1

per cent had some university education and 13.8 per cent had at least one university degree; in the complementary group (aged 20-24) and not in school at the time of the census, however, the probability of anyone in the group having had some university education was very low; it will be observed that only 5.3 per cent of them had ever crossed the thresholds of the university and only 1.5 per cent had stayed on to complete a degree.

TABLE 4.2. Percentage Distribution of the Population Aged 15-19 and 20-24,
by Highest Grade Attended, Canada,(1) 1961

Schooling	Population 5-24 attending school			Population 10 years and over <u>not</u> attending school		
	Total	Age group		Total	Age group	
		15-19	20-24		15-19	20-24
Percentages based on age group totals						
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No schooling	—	—	—	1.7	1.1	0.7
Elementary(2)	76.7	15.1	4.1	45.3	40.3	30.4
Less than 5 years	44.3	0.6	0.8	7.7	3.3	2.6
5 years +	32.4	14.5	3.4	37.6	37.0	27.7
Secondary	21.2	81.1	34.6	47.0	57.7	63.7
1-2 years	12.5	40.0	5.2	21.7	32.5	27.2
3-5 years	8.7	41.2	29.4	25.3	25.2	36.5
Some university	1.8	3.7	47.5	3.1	0.8	3.8
University degree	0.3	(3)	13.8	2.9	(3)	1.5

(1) Includes Yukon and Northwest Territories.

(2) Includes kindergarten.

(3) Less than 0.05 p.c.

Source: 1961 Census Bulletin 1.3-6, Table on cover — Introduction.

Historical Changes in School Attendance

At any particular point in time the general level of education of the population as a whole is a function of school attendance in past periods. Table 4.3 sets out the proportion of the population in each age group that was attending school at various periods in the past. It will be observed that there has been steady growth in school attendance since 1921 in every age group, but the increase in the teen-age and young adult group has been remarkable. The most dramatic change, however, had taken place in the decade 1951-61, during which period the proportion of persons in their early twenties who stayed on at school had almost doubled. This could doubtless be considered a reflection of the awareness among those guiding educational policies and among the public in general of the increasing need for highly trained personnel to cope with the rapid growth in technology which characterized this decade.

TABLE 4.3. Proportion of the Population in Various Age Groups Attending School,
Canada,(1) 1921-61

Census year	Percentage attending school			
	Age group			
	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24
1921	65.5	88.7	24.8	2.3
1931	68.7	93.4	33.7	2.8
1941	66.8	94.4	35.5	3.7
1951	65.2	93.0	40.5	4.9
1961	75.3	97.1	58.8	8.1

(1) Not including Newfoundland, Yukon and Northwest Territories.

Source: 1961 Census Bulletin 7.1-10, Table III.

The outcome of this augmented school attendance in the decade 1951-61 is seen in the larger proportion of young people who had achieved higher grades of educational attainment in 1961 than in 1951. Unfortunately, because of the change in concept underlying these data from "number of years of schooling" to "highest grade attended" between these two censuses, it is rather difficult to make valid historical comparisons of the level of education of any particular group. Nevertheless, with the use of a formula devised for equating the number of years of schooling with certain specific grade levels, it has been possible to make some comparisons, although this has been achieved at the price of sacrificing a considerable amount of detail. Two such regrettable sacrifices have been the merging of the fifth year of high school with university and the inability to differentiate university graduates from those who have had some years of university education. Notwithstanding these shortcomings, Tables 4.4a, 4.4b, and 4.4c bring forth some interesting comparisons.

Table 4.4a shows that the proportion of teen-agers attending school had increased from 40 per cent in 1951 to 58.5 per cent in 1961. In this decade the proportion who had five years of high school or more had risen from 6.1 per cent to 10.1 per cent. The proportion of 20-24-year olds attending school had risen from 4.8 per cent to 8.0 per cent in the same interval. There was only a slight increase in the proportion who had 1-4 years of high school and small reduction in the proportion among the group with 5 years of high school or more. The translation of years of schooling to grade level could possibly have resulted in some slight distortion of the 1951 figures. The fact remains, however, that there had been an over-all improvement in the level of education during the decade.

TABLE 4.4a. Percentage Distribution of the Population Aged 15-19 and 20-24 Attending School, by Highest Grade Attended, Canada,(1) 1951 and 1961

Highest grade attended	15-19		20-24	
	1951	1961	1951	1961
percentage				
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No schooling	-	-	-	-
Elementary less than 5 years	0.8	0.6	0.4	0.8
Elementary 5 years +	20.0	14.5	3.5	3.4
High school 1-4 years	73.1	74.8	19.6	21.2
High school, 5th year or more	6.1	10.1	76.4	74.7
Percentage of the total population in the age group attending school	40.0	58.5	4.8	8.0

(1) Includes Yukon and Northwest Territories.

Sources: Calculated from 1961 Census Bulletin 1.3-6, Table 99, unpublished data from population tabulation, and 1951 Census Volume II, Table 24.

Table 4.4b compares the educational attainments between 1951 and 1961 of persons who were not attending school at those dates. The proportion of teen-agers not attending school who had 1-4 years of high school had risen from 43.6 per cent in 1951 to 53.5 per cent in 1961 and the proportion who had five years of high school plus some university had tripled in the decade. Of the 20-24-year olds who were not attending school, 55.2 per cent had 1-4 years of high school in 1961 compared to 47.6 per cent in 1951. Those with five years of high school or more had also increased, the proportion in this category having grown by one and a half times from 8.2 per cent to 13.7 per cent.

TABLE 4.4b. Percentage Distribution of the Population Aged 15-19 and 20-24 Not Attending School, by Highest Grade Attended, Canada,(1) 1951 and 1961

Highest grade attended	15-19		20-24	
	1951	1961	1951	1961
percentage				
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No schooling	1.2	1.1	0.8	0.7
Elementary less than 5 years	3.4	3.3	3.0	2.6
Elementary 5 years +	50.0	37.0	40.3	27.7
High school 1-4 years	43.6	53.5	47.6	55.2
High school, 5th year or more	1.7	5.1	8.2	13.7
Percentage of the total population in the age group not attending school	59.6	41.5	95.2	92.0

(1) Includes Yukon and Northwest Territories.

Sources: Calculated from 1961 Census Bulletin 1.3-6, Table 102, unpublished data
from General Population Section, and 1951 Census Volume II, Table 27.

Taking the total number of persons in the population in each age group, 15-19 and 20-24, including both those attending and those not attending school, and comparing their educational achievements between 1951 and 1961 it was found (as shown in Table 4.4c) that the proportion of teen-agers with 1-4 years of high school had risen from 55.5 per cent to 66.0 per cent and the proportion of 20-24-year olds with equivalent education had risen from 46.3 per cent to 52.5 per cent. In the same decade there had been significant increases in the proportions of teen-agers as well as of those in their early twenties with five years of high school or more. The proportion of teen-agers having this level of education had more than doubled and the proportion of 20-24-year olds with equivalent education had increased by almost two-thirds; these may be deemed as a remarkable improvement in the general level of education of young people in a brief span of ten years.

TABLE 4.4c. Percentage Distribution of the Total Population Aged 15-19 and 20-24
Attending and Not Attending School, by Highest Grade Attended,
Canada, (1) 1951 and 1961

Highest grade attended	15-19		20-24		15-24	
	1951	1961	1951	1961	1951	1961
percentage						
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No schooling	0.7	0.5	0.8	0.6	0.8	0.5
Elementary less than 5 years	2.3	1.7	2.8	2.5	2.6	2.1
Elementary 5 years +	37.9	23.8	38.5	25.8	38.2	24.7
High school 1-4 years	55.5	66.0	46.3	52.5	50.8	59.9
High school, 5th year or more	3.5	8.0	11.6	18.6	7.6	12.8

(1) Includes Yukon and Northwest Territories.

Sources: Calculated from 1961 Census Bulletin 1.3-6, Tables 99 and 102, and 1951 Census Volume II, Tables 24 and 27.

Male and Female Differences in Education

In the early decades of this century there was a tendency for teen-age girls to stay on at school longer than their brothers. As Table 4.5 shows, from 1921 to 1941 the proportion of females aged 15-19 attending school consistently exceeded the proportion of males. During the early twenties social attitudes towards female employment limited the range and choice of middle class girls to a few traditional occupations such as teaching and nursing and, as a result, many of them stayed on longer at school. Boys of the same age faced no such prejudice and, on the contrary, were expected to enter the labour force as soon as possible. By the latter part of the twenties and the early years of the thirties social attitudes were becoming less rigid, but the onset of the great depression which started with the 1929 crash added an economic restraint to the employment opportunities of girls as well as boys. The boys, nevertheless, left school and tried to find employment. Realizing the limitations, the girls continued at school for a little while longer. This is the significance of the greater proportions of teen-age girls than boys who were attending school in each of the census years from 1921 to 1941. The advent of the Second World War changed the pattern of labour demand; by 1941 the war economy demanded large numbers of hands to man the assembly lines in munition plants and other war-oriented industries at a time when the young men were being syphoned off into the army. Girls began to have a wider choice but the impact of this on the relative proportions of the two sexes who stayed on at school was not felt until the next decennial census. By 1951 the tremendous growth of the clerical and service industries had created extensive opportunities for young girls; this development paralleled the rapid technological change and increasing automation of the industrial sector thereby creating urgent demand for improved skills and higher levels of learning among the work force. In response to this the proportion of both boys and girls at school made enormous strides; but the pull into the labour force generated by job opportunities in the less skilled occupations caused the rate of growth in the proportion of girls at school to slacken relative to that of boys, so that by 1951 the boys had caught up with and overtaken the girls. By 1961 the relative proportions had swung strongly in favour

of the boys with 61.5 per cent of them attending school compared with 56.0 per cent of the girls.

TABLE 4.5. Percentage Distribution of the Population Aged 15-19 and 20-24 Attending School, Canada,(1) 1921-61

Year	Percentage attending school					
	15-19			20-24		
	M	F	Both sexes	M	F	Both sexes
1921	22.9	26.7	24.8	3.1	1.5	2.3
1931	32.3	35.1	33.7	3.6	2.0	2.8
1941	33.9	37.1	35.5	4.5	2.8	3.7
1951	40.9	40.2	40.5	6.5	3.3	4.9
1961	61.5	56.0	58.8	11.5	4.7	8.1

(1) Not including Newfoundland, Yukon and Northwest Territories.

Source: 1961 Census Bulletin 7.1-10, Table 3.

The disaggregated figures of school attendance by sex for the 20-24-year-old group tell a different story. Men of this age group have always been predominant in the pursuit of higher education. In 1921 the proportion of men in their early twenties attending school was more than twice the proportion of women. The reasons for this are evident. In 1921 the place of the woman was considered to be at home. She was barred from many of the professions and from public life either by regulation or by the attitude of society. However, in spite of the social revolution which had taken place in the 40-year interval to 1961, it is apparent that the gap in the proportion of men and women seeking higher education had widened. In 1961, 11.5 per cent of young men aged 20-24 were attending school compared with 4.7 per cent of young women; the proportion of men attending institutions of higher learning was nearly two and a half times as great as that of women. Another way of looking at the situation is in terms of the increases in school attendance made by each sex since 1921. The proportion of young men had risen by 8.4 per cent whereas the proportion of young women only increased by 3.2 per cent. This means that women are not keeping pace with men in the pursuit of education, a fact which is surprising in view of the greater "emancipation" of women and a steady breakdown of barriers to entry into many professions. The greater proportion of women who marry early than was formerly the case is attractive as an explanation of this phenomenon, but the fact of increasing participation of married women in the labour force would seem to negate this explanation. It has been suggested that university education is expensive and where a choice has to be made priority is given to the son. It is probable that in upper income groups from which university students are mainly drawn, daughters are not interested in careers. These theories would seem to suggest that social attitudes toward higher education for women have not really changed very much.

Today there is an abundance of white-collar jobs for women which require less than university education. It is tempting to conclude that the pull of the market place is stronger than that of the halls of learning. We should, however, not overlook the fact that it is becoming increasingly common for students to marry young and then the wife goes to work to help put her husband through college. It is also impor-

tant to note that a good part of the increase in male enrolment has been in the purely scientific faculties which have been traditionally less attractive to women.

Urban-Rural Differences in School Attendance

Young people living in urban areas tend to stay on at school longer than those who live in the country. In 1961 the proportion of urban teen-agers and persons in their early twenties who were attending school was greater than that of rural dwellers and higher than the national average. The pattern was similar in 1951, but in both rural and urban areas great strides were made in the decade between 1951 and 1961. In the country areas, however, the advances were greater than those made both in urban areas and in Canada as a whole. The consolidated school system which developed during the fifties and sixties in several of the provinces is doubtless responsible for this improvement. These comparisons are set out in Table 4.6 which illustrates that though rural youth still have a long way to go to catch up with urban dwellers in their participation in further education, the strides made in the last decade hold out the prospect of narrowing the differential at a rapid rate.

TABLE 4.6. Percentage Distribution of the Population Aged 15-24 Attending School,
Rural and Urban, Canada, 1951 and 1961

Area	Proportion of population attending school	
	1951	1961
	percentage	
<u>Rural</u>		
15-19	37.1	55.3
20-24	3.0	5.7
15-24	21.6	35.8
<u>Urban</u>		
15-19	42.9	60.2
20-24	5.8	8.8
15-24	22.9	35.6
<u>Canada</u>		
15-19	40.4	58.5
20-24	4.8	8.0
15-24	22.4	35.6

Source: 1961 Census Bulletin 7.1-10, Table VI.

A look at the standard of educational attainment of young Canadians aged 15-24 who were not attending school in 1961 and can therefore be presumed to have terminated their education at that stage, reveals certain interesting differences between rural and urban youth. Table 4.7 shows in very broad general terms the type of school attended, but does not specify the amount of time or the degree of attainment reached in each type of school by urban and rural dwellers aged 15-24 who are no longer attending school. It will be observed that greater proportions of the urban young had secondary and some university education and at least one university degree,

than was the case with the young people who lived in rural areas.

TABLE 4.7. Percentage Distribution of the Population Not Attending School, by Highest Level of Schooling, for Selected Age Groups, Canada, Rural and Urban, 1961

Area and age group	Highest level of schooling				
	No schooling	Elemen-tary	Secon-dary	Some univer-sity	Univer-sity degree
percentage					
<u>Population 15 years and over</u>					
Canada	1.6	45.2	47.1	3.1	3.0
Rural	2.9	57.7	36.4	2.0	1.0
Urban	1.1	40.2	51.4	3.6	3.7
<u>Population 15-24 years</u>					
Canada	0.8	33.9	61.6	2.7	1.0
Rural	1.5	46.9	49.7	1.6	0.3
Urban	0.5	28.0	67.0	3.2	1.3

Sources: 1961 Census Bulletin 7.1-10, Tables XIII, XIV and XV; Denton, Frank T. and Ostry, Sylvia, Historical Estimates of the Canadian Labour Force, Ottawa, 1967.

Provincial Differences in School Attendance

The proportion of teen-agers attending school in 1961 exhibited considerable variation according to the province in which they lived. It ranged from 50.1 per cent in Quebec to 68.0 per cent in British Columbia. The average absolute deviation of the provincial rates from the Canada rate was 5.3 per cent. Table 4.8 sets out the percentages attending school by provinces for 1951 and 1961 in the two age categories 15-19 and 20-24. It will be seen that the average absolute deviation in 1961 was almost the same as it was in 1951 but the relative deviation which expresses the absolute average as a percentage of the Canada rate was much lower. This is a result of the over-all higher attendance rates in 1961. These comparisons lead to the conclusion that the interprovincial differential in school attendance of teenagers had narrowed considerably from 13.9 per cent in 1951 to 9.1 per cent in 1961. This may perhaps be interpreted as the outcome of some levelling of educational provision among the provinces.

TABLE 4.8. Percentage Distribution of the Population Aged 15-24 Attending School,
Canada(1) and the Provinces, 1951 and 1961

Province	Percentage attending school			
	15-19		20-24	
	1951	1961	1951	1961
CANADA	40.4	58.5	4.8	8.0
Newfoundland	38.4	51.7	2.2	3.9
Prince Edward Island	40.0	55.5	4.0	6.5
Nova Scotia	45.2	57.3	3.8	5.9
New Brunswick	40.6	56.7	3.8	6.7
Quebec	29.9	50.1	4.5	7.4
Ontario	43.7	62.9	5.5	8.8
Manitoba	44.0	62.1	5.1	8.0
Saskatchewan	49.8	65.5	4.6	8.8
Alberta	50.3	65.8	4.6	7.9
British Columbia	52.0	68.0	5.7	9.5
Average absolute deviation	5.6	5.3	0.8	1.3
Average percentage deviation	13.9	9.0	16.7	16.2

(1) Includes Yukon and Northwest Territories.

Source: 1961 Census Bulletin 7.1-10, Table 1.

Interprovincial differences in school attendance of young people in their early twenties were much greater than that of teen-agers during 1961. The average absolute deviation in 1961 was almost twice as high as in 1951, but due to the near doubling of the Canada attendance rate over the decade, the relative deviation was the same in both census years. That is, the degree of interprovincial variation in school attendance exhibited very little change over the period, standing at 16.7 per cent in 1951 and 16.2 per cent in 1961. Both in 1951 and in 1961 there were considerable differences between the provinces in the proportion of their young people who went on to higher education.

Generally speaking, the three Western Provinces had the highest proportion of their teen-agers attending school in 1961 while Quebec, Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island had the lowest. In the area of higher education all provinces west of, and including Ontario had larger proportions attending school than those lying to the east. In fact, the further east one goes the lower were the proportions of the young adults who attended school.

Educational Attainment of the Immigrant Population

Comparison of the immigrant and the native-born populations aged 15-24 reveals that a larger proportion of the immigrants who arrived in the 1931-45 period had

3 to 5 years of secondary education than the native-born Canadians. It is highly probable that such persons live in urban areas. They would be brought up like native Canadians and it is more than likely that their educational patterns would reflect those of the native population in the same areas. Among post-war immigrants, smaller proportions had only secondary schooling than the native born. It is interesting to speculate that the explanation of this lies in the fact that many of these persons spent their childhood years in Europe during the war and, as a result, their early education was seriously interrupted. This may have made it difficult for them to cope with secondary education in the new environment. However, in the field of higher education, our statistics indicate that migrants of both periods surpassed the native born. The proportion of pre-war immigrants who had some university education was almost double that of the native born and the proportion with degrees was three times as great. These differences, however, are not realistic. The explanation probably lies in the fact that comparison of the 15-24-year-old pre-war immigrant with the native born of the same age group is not valid. The 1931-45 immigrant group would have no persons aged 15 years in 1961, and very few 16-year olds. The native born, on the other hand, contains large numbers of these young people who are not old enough to enter university. In the case of the post-war immigrants, however, the age distribution would be comparable with that of the native born, and as the data show, the achievement of these two groups in the field of higher education was not materially different.

TABLE 4.9. Percentage Distribution by Highest Level of Schooling of the Canadian-born and Immigrant Populations, 15 Years of Age and Over According to Period of Immigration and Age, Canada, 1961

Period of immigration and age	Total	Percentage distribution by level of schooling							
		No schooling	Elementary		Secondary			Some university	University degree
			1-4	5+	1-2	3	4-5		
percentage									
CANADA	12,046,325	1.5	7.1	35.5	22.8	9.8	16.7	3.6	2.9
Total Canadian born	9,471,082	1.2	6.6	34.3	24.3	10.5	16.7	3.5	2.9
Total immigrant Canadian born	2,575,243	2.6	8.9	39.9	17.5	7.1	16.9	3.9	3.2
15-24	2,365,127	0.5	1.9	24.2	32.1	14.5	21.0	4.6	1.1
1931-45 immigrants 15-24 ..	11,658	0.5	1.0	13.5	28.9	17.6	27.1	8.2	3.3
1946-61 immigrants 15-24 ..	239,420	0.4	4.1	30.0	27.6	12.2	19.9	4.7	1.2

Source: 1961 Census Bulletin 7.1-10, Table XIX.

It is almost certain that the immigrants in the age group under discussion who arrived between 1931 and 1945 received the greater part of their education in this country. The post-war group may or may not have received their education here, but this cannot be ascertained with any degree of precision from census data since the age on arrival was not recorded in the census tabulations.

These somewhat higher educational achievements of young immigrants are probably a result of the tendency of immigrants to settle in large metropolitan areas where educational facilities at all levels are more readily available. It probably also reflects the initiative of immigrant people and their great drive to succeed in a new environment. The highly selective nature of the Canadian Government's immigration policy contributes in large measure to these characteristics.

Summary

By 1961 the great majority of young people living in Canada had some secondary education. Of the 67 per cent who had been to high school, more than half had stayed on for 3 to 5 years and most of these can be presumed to have graduated. Nearly 6 per cent of this group had attended university but only 1.1 per cent had obtained a degree. There was, however, a considerable degree of drop-out from high school, a fact reflected in the comparative statistics of school attendance at different stages of the school-age period. For example, among the group 10-14 years, school attendance in 1961 was 97.1 per cent, but by the time they reached high-school age only 59.1 per cent were in attendance. Nevertheless, this was a great improvement from the previous census when only 40.5 per cent of teen-agers were attending school. Indeed this decade witnessed a tremendous upsurge of interest in further education both at the high school and the university level. The proportion of young adults attending school doubled and universities experienced great pressure to expand. The proportion of teen-agers with 1 to 4 years of high school had risen from 55 per cent in 1951 to 66 per cent by 1961, and that of young adults had gone from 46.3 per cent to 52.5 per cent in the course of the decade. In the field of higher education the proportion of teen-agers with 5 years of high school plus some university and at least one degree had more than doubled and the proportion of young adults had increased by almost two-thirds. These findings bear witness to the tremendous strides which have been made in the education of the Canadian people in the brief span of ten years from 1951 to 1961.

In the early decades of this century there was a tendency for teen-age girls to stay on at school longer than boys because of the limited options for girls. But the tremendous growth in the clerical and service industries during the fifties opened up employment opportunities for girls. At the same time the technological changes in the industrial sector created urgent demand for improved skills and higher levels of learning among the work force. These factors caused the rate of growth in the proportion of girls at school to slacken relative to that of boys, so that by 1961 the relative proportions attending school had swung strongly in favour of the boys.

Regional variations in school attendance of teen-agers persisted, however, in spite of considerable narrowing of the relative differential since 1951. The provincial variations in the proportion of teen-agers attending school in 1961 were quite large ranging from 68 per cent in British Columbia to 50.1 per cent in Quebec. These disparities were more remarkable in the area of higher education. Interprovincial variations in school attendance of the 20-24-year olds were almost double that of teen-agers and there had been little reduction over the decade.

PART II

CHAPTER V

LABOUR FORCE AND EMPLOYMENT

The first part of this study examined the demographic and educational characteristics of the "Young Canadian" and set the stage for examination of his performance in the economic field. The second part will be devoted to the study of the young in the major areas of economic endeavour and will analyse labour force participation, occupational and industrial attachment and income distribution.

Economic activity refers mainly to those spheres of action which contribute to the production of goods and services. The degree of involvement in economic activity by any group of people in a country is measured in terms of its contribution to the supply of labour. An effort will be made in this chapter to analyse the contribution made by young people to the supply of labour; the changing pattern of their participation in the labour market will be examined in relation to changes in the educational level and opportunity and in relation to other social and economic dimensions of the country.

A variety of problems in definition and measurement beset the comparison of labour force data from successive decennial censuses. The Canadian concept of the labour supply has undergone a number of changes since the first decennial census attempted to investigate it back in 1871. Prior to and inclusive of the 1941 Census, the supply of labour consisted of all persons who were gainfully occupied. "Gainfully occupied" was a concept which centred on occupation and implied habitual or customary occupation with an open-ended reference period. Thus, a person was counted as part of the supply of labour according to whether he had a customary occupation irrespective of whether he was engaged in it at the time of the census. On the other hand, persons seeking their first job who obviously had no occupation could not qualify as gainfully occupied. They were therefore excluded from the supply of labour. It is evident that this definition affects the measure of economic activity of some groups more than others, and the bias falls particularly heavily upon the young people with whom we are most concerned in this monograph. This group is also affected by another qualification which excluded part-time workers, since many students whose customary activity is attending school, also contribute to production on a part-time basis, either in the labour market or by assisting the family in production at home or in the family business.

By the time of the 1951 Census, the "gainfully occupied" approach was displaced by the "labour force" as a criterion of labour supply. The labour force concept implied a description of activity with respect to the labour market at a point in time. The emphasis had shifted from occupation to activity in a particular reference period. Persons were in the labour force and therefore constituted part of the supply of labour, if in a certain reference week clearly specified, they satisfied one of the following criteria:

- (1) had a job and were working;
- (2) had a job but for one reason or another were not at work;
- (3) had no job and were looking for work.

With the exception of Indians on reserves, every person in the non-institutional population 14 years of age and over answering to this description was counted in the current labour force and was among the economically active.

By 1961 the definition had again changed somewhat to include Indians on reserves and to exclude the 14-year olds. These changing concepts of the economically active combined with administrative changes in the minimum age at which persons are legally qualified to engage in economic activity, have resulted in a sort of statistical jungle which makes any attempt to study historical trends in the supply of labour or the degree of participation in economic activity by a specific group or region an extremely difficult problem. Indeed, such comparisons were considered virtually impossible prior to the appearance in 1967 of the Census Monograph, "Historical Estimates of the Canadian Labour Force" by Frank T. Denton and Sylvia Ostry.(9) This was the first attempt to present historical estimates of the labour force on a consistent definitional basis and as such has been an invaluable aid to research in this whole area. In attempting to study historical changes in the economic activity of young Canadians, I have relied heavily upon it.

The "Historical Estimates" are in terms of the labour force fourteen years and over and the breakdown starts with age group 14-19 years. For reasons of convenience, therefore, in discussing participation rates we shall extend our definition of the "Young Canadian" to include the fourteen-year olds and shall study young people in two main groups, 14-19 and 20-24-year olds.

A remarkable feature of the teen-age group is its diminished role in the economic activity of the country in the course of less than half a century from 1921 to 1961. The proportion of persons 14-19 years old who have a job or are looking for work, has fallen off dramatically since 1921. This participation rate dropped from 49.1 per cent at that date to 40.8 per cent by 1941, and after a slight recovery in the boom year of 1951, fell again steeply to 36.2 per cent at the 1961 Census. In the course of the forty years under consideration the proportion of economically active teen-agers had shrunk by 12.9 per cent. This is in marked contrast to the participation rate of the population as a whole which has hovered between 55 per cent and 56 per cent through the entire period, notwithstanding various structural changes which it has undergone. It is in striking contrast with all other age groups shown in Table 5.1 in all of which, with the exception of the 65 years and over, the rates have risen since 1921 by varying amounts ranging from 7.0 per cent for the 20-24-year olds, 4.4 per cent for the 25-34-year olds and 29.8 per cent for the 35-64-year olds. The participation rate of the 65 plus group experienced a change in the same direction but in greater degrees than the youngest group, dropping by 15.7 per cent to nearly one-half its 1921 level.

(9) Denton, Frank T. and Ostry, Sylvia, Historical Estimates of the Canadian Labour Force, Queen's Printer, Ottawa, 1967. Earlier attempts to provide historical estimates on a consistent basis are found in Canadian Labour Force Estimates 1931-45, Reference Paper No. 23 (revised), Ottawa, 1957. The annual estimates are by sex from 1931-45 and for both sexes combined from 1921-30. The method of adjusting the gainfully occupied census data differs from that used in the more up-to-date study by Denton and Ostry.

TABLE 5.1. Labour Force Participation Rate in Selected Age Groups, for Both Sexes, Canada,(1) 1921-61

Census year	Canada total	14-19	20-24	25-34	35-64	65+
1921	56.2	49.1	65.2	59.8	32.9	33.7
1931	55.9	42.0	71.0	62.9	58.0	31.9
1941	55.2	40.8	69.7	63.7	52.1	27.2
1951	54.5	43.7	71.1	60.9	58.2	22.2
1961	55.3	36.2	72.2	64.2	62.7	18.0

(1) Excludes Newfoundland, and includes Yukon and Northwest Territories.

Source: Denton, Frank T. and Ostry, Sylvia, Historical Estimates of the Canadian Labour Force, Tables 3 to 7.

Disaggregating by sex, Table 5.2 shows that all of the decline in the participation rate of the youngest age group was experienced by the males; at the same time participation of teen-age girls had risen. The male teen-ager's attachment to the labour force had declined by 27 percentage points from a high of 68 per cent in 1921 to a low of 41 per cent in 1961 while female rates had risen from 30 to 32 per cent in the same period. By contrast, the participation rates of males in the age groups 20-24, 25-34 and 35-64 had experienced very little fluctuation. The increase in the over-all participation rate of persons in these older age groups is almost entirely attributable to the significant increase in the economic activity of women which has taken place since the twenties, consequent upon the changed attitudes of society towards the rights of women and her place in the community which were inspired by the early suffragette movement. Participation rates of women aged 20-24, 25-34 and 35-64 had risen by 11 percentage points, 10 percentage points and 18 percentage points, respectively, between 1921 and 1961; a considerable portion of the increase occurred in the decade 1951-61.

TABLE 5.2. Labour Force Participation Rates in Selected Age Groups, by Sex, Canada,(1) 1921-61

Census year	Canada total		14-19		20-24		25-34		35-64		65+	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1921	89.8	19.9	68.4	29.6	94.3	39.8	98.0	19.5	96.9	12.0	57.6	6.6
1931	87.2	21.8	57.4	26.5	93.9	47.4	98.6	24.4	98.6	13.2	56.5	6.2
1941	85.6	22.9	54.6	26.8	92.6	46.9	98.7	27.9	96.1	15.2	47.9	5.8
1951	84.4	24.4	53.7	33.7	94.2	48.8	98.2	25.4	95.0	19.6	39.5	4.5
1961	81.1	29.3	40.6	31.7	94.4	50.7	98.4	29.2	95.3	29.5	30.6	6.1

(1) Excludes Newfoundland, and includes Yukon and Northwest Territories.

Source: Denton, Frank T. and Ostry, Sylvia, Historical Estimates of the Canadian Labour Force, Tables 3 to 7.

The remarkable changes in the economic activity of teen-age persons is explained in part by the increased provision of schooling facilities by the educational authorities, the increased prosperity which has enabled young people to stay on at school, the changing attitudes of the public in general towards education, and the changing technology of our times which demands higher and higher levels of educational attainment to make the wheels of industry go round. The decline in the participation rate of boys 14-19 years of age cannot, with the statistics now available, be directly compared with the increase in the proportion of those attending school inasmuch as the schooling data relate to the 15-19-year olds only. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note in Table 5.3 that between 1921 and 1961, the proportion of teen-age males who were attending school had almost tripled, rising from 22.9 per cent to 61.5 per cent. If the 14-year olds were included the increase would have been even more remarkable.

TABLE 5.3. Proportion of the Population Aged 15-19(1) in the Labour Force and Attending School,(2) Canada, 1921-61

Census year	Proportion of the population					
	15-19 attending school			14-19 in the labour force		
	T	M	F	T	M	F
1921	24.8	22.9	26.9	49.1	68.4	29.6
1931	33.7	32.3	35.1	42.0	57.4	26.5
1941	35.5	33.9	37.1	40.8	54.6	26.8
1951	40.5	40.9	40.1	43.7	53.7	33.7
1961	58.5	61.5	56.0	36.2	40.6	31.7

(1) Labour force data include the 14-year olds and relate to Canada, exclusive of Newfoundland but inclusive of Yukon and Northwest Territories.

(2) School attendance data exclude the 14-year olds and refer to Canada, Yukon and Northwest Territories.

Sources: Denton, Frank T. and Ostry, Sylvia, Historical Estimates of the Canadian Labour Force, Ottawa, 1967, and 1961 Census Bulletin 7.1-10, Table VI.

Whereas it has been traditional for boys in their teens to be either at school or in the labour force, the practice has been somewhat different for girls. During the early years of the century, attitudes and opportunities restricted their choice between school and home. This is reflected in the slightly larger proportion of girls to boys at school throughout the census years 1921, 1931, and 1941. In 1951 for the first time, the proportion of boys at school exceeded that of girls and the difference had grown in favour of the boys by 1961. Throughout the period, the proportion of girls in the labour force has been very much lower than that of boys. These two features combined, imply that there is a considerable number of girls who even in 1961 are neither attending school nor in the labour force and can therefore be presumed either to be obtaining vocational training of one kind or another, or staying at home, or are married housewives, having married at a very early age.

The older group of young Canadians, the 20-24-year olds, have a very different history of economic behaviour which justifies our treatment of them as a separate group for analytical purposes. By the time young people have reached the age of twenty, they have normally completed their formal education and joined the ranks

of those working, or looking for work. As a result their participation in the economic activity of the country has traditionally been at a much higher rate than that of their teen-age brothers. However, there has always been some exception to those who terminate their formal education at the age of 19, and with the increasing demands of industry and society, as a whole for persons with higher education and post-graduate training, the number of persons who stay on at school during the early years of their twenties has been rising. In 1921, 2.3 per cent of them were still at school. The proportion rose gradually to 4.9 per cent by 1951 and then in one great spurt surged forward to 8.1 per cent by 1961.

TABLE 5.4. Proportion of the Population Aged 20-24 in the Labour Force and Attending School, Canada,(1) 1921-61

Census year	Proportion of the population					
	Attending school			In the labour force		
	T	M	F	T	M	F
percentage						
1921	2.3	3.1	1.5	65.2	94.3	39.8
1931	2.8	3.6	2.0	71.0	93.9	47.4
1941	3.7	4.5	2.8	69.7	92.6	46.9
1951	4.9	6.5	3.3	71.1	94.2	48.8
1961	8.1	11.3	4.6	72.2	94.4	50.7

(1) Labour force data exclude Newfoundland, but include Yukon and Northwest Territories, while schooling data include Newfoundland, Yukon and Northwest Territories.

Sources: 1961 Census Bulletin 7.1-10, Table VI, and 1951 Census Report, Vol. X, Table 49; Denton, Frank T. and Ostry, Sylvia, Historical Estimates of the Canadian Labour Force, Tables 3 to 7.

In view of this increasing tendency of young people to continue their education into their early twenties, it is somewhat remarkable at first glance that their labour force participation rate has also been rising. It went from 65 per cent in 1921 to 72 per cent in 1961. Taken in conjunction with the fact that the statistics on education relate only to formal education at schools and universities and does not take account of the large number of persons in this age category who are increasingly undergoing technical and vocational training of a wide variety, it is indeed remarkable that labour force participation rates have continued to rise. As Table 5.2 indicates, the male participation rate of this group is the lowest of any age group other than the youngest and oldest members of society though considerably higher than the national average. Moreover, this proportion has fluctuated very little (about one percentage point) over the 40-year period.

The increased tendency of young adults to stay on at school, a tendency which is particularly noticeable among males whose school attendance rose from 3.1 per cent in 1921 to 11.3 per cent in 1961, and the unchanged rate of male participation over the period, require that the explanation of the increasing over-all participation rate of this group be sought in the disaggregated figures. Table 5.2 gives participation rates by sex and reveals immediately that the source of the buoyancy of the over-all participation rate of young adults lies in the high degree of attachment to the labour force evidenced by the women of this group. In 1921, 39.8 per cent of all women aged 20-24 were in the labour force. This was twice the rate

of the 25-34-year olds, more than three times the rate of the middle-aged and older women and just about double the national average for all women. This situation seems to indicate that by their early twenties women have reached the peak in their economic activity, while men with participation rate of 94.3 per cent still have some way to go. Over the forty-year period from 1921 to 1961, female participation rate had risen gradually to 50.7 per cent. Although this increase of 10.9 percentage points was greatly exceeded by the increase of the middle-aged and older women whose re-entry into the labour market (after the family has grown up), has been one of the most interesting features of labour force activity of the post-war era, nevertheless, the participation rate of women in their early twenties was still the highest of any age group in 1961; it was almost twice as high as the national average for women.(10) This explains in large measure the growing over-all participation (since 1921) of this age group as a whole despite the somewhat static rate of male participation and the increased school attendance of young adults. Increasing attendance at school has had less effect on the labour force participation rate of the 20-24-year olds than on that of the teen-agers. Unpublished statistics from the 1961 Census indicate that the participation rate of young adults attending school was more than three times as high as that of teen-agers attending school, and this applies to females as well as males.

The increase in female participation rate may be due to the increased opportunities for employment in the white-collar and service occupations in which female labour is competitive. Improved education, declining fertility patterns and the whole complex of labour saving appliances which minimize the time and labour required in running the household, have all contributed to the growth in female participation among young adults. Yet another important factor influencing the participation rate of married women is the size of the family. Even though 59.2 per cent of all women aged 20-24 years were married in 1961, 26.2 per cent of them had no children. Of those who had families, 47.0 per cent had only one child and 33.7 per cent had two children.(11) As long as the number of children is small it is presumed that arrangements can be made for their care while the mother takes time off to work. By the time a woman reaches the age group 25 to 34 however, her family has grown; 26 per cent of women in this age group had 3 children. The increasing demands of a large family and the probability that her husband is earning more adequately combine to create pressures which influence her to drop out of the labour market.

The increasing responsibilities created by larger families presumably contribute to a marked withdrawal from the labour force beyond the age of twenty-five. This and the increased attendance at secondary school during the late teens, explain in large measure why the economic activity of women is greatest between the age of twenty and twenty-four.

This brief review of the labour force behaviour of the young Canadian has revealed two distinct trends. Numerous social and economic factors have contributed to the teen-age male developing a weaker attachment to the labour force. Persons in their early twenties have shown the opposite tendency, with all of the growth in this category evidenced by the female section of the population.

- (10) Women at Work, Department of Labour, Queen's Printer, Ottawa, 1964, page 6.
The entry of middle-aged and older women into the labour force which leads to the emergence of the "second peak" is a phenomenon of the fifties, see Ostry, Sylvia, Changing Patterns in Women's Employment, Women's Bureau, Canada Department of Labour 1966, page 9. Ostry, Sylvia and Podoluk, J.R., The Economic Status of the Aging, DBS, Ottawa, 1967, page 27; and Ostry, Sylvia, The Female Worker in Canada, DBS, Ottawa, 1968, page 5.
- (11) Statistics on number of children are taken from the 20 per cent population sample and relate to Canada, the Provinces and Territories. The participation rates refer to Canada, excluding Newfoundland.
- Source: 1961 Census Bulletin 4.1, Table G1.

Provincial Differences in Labour Force Participation Rates

Young people exhibited considerable variation in their degree of attachment to the labour force according to the province in which they lived at the date of the 1961 Census. As Table 5.5 illustrates, provincial differences in participation rates of teen-agers had a total range of 10.4 percentage points from a low of 30.1 per cent in Newfoundland to a high of 40.5 per cent in Prince Edward Island. The total variation for the 20-24-year olds was even greater, ranging from a low of 58.5 per cent in Newfoundland to a high of 70.3 per cent in Ontario and Manitoba. The total range, however, is a less adequate measure of provincial variation than the average* absolute

TABLE 5.5. Percentage of the Population 15 Years and Over in the Labour Force by Selected Age Groups and Percentage of the Population 5-24 Years Attending School, Both Sexes, Canada and the Provinces, 1961

Province	Population		15-19		20-24	
	15 years and over labour force	5-24 attending school	Labour force	Attending school	Labour force	Attending school
			percentage			
CANADA	54.0	65.6	37.9	58.5	68.2	8.0
Newfoundland	42.7	65.2	30.1	51.7	58.5	3.9
Prince Edward Island	51.3	65.4	40.5	55.5	66.7	6.5
Nova Scotia	49.7	67.5	35.2	57.3	66.3	5.9
New Brunswick	48.5	65.0	32.8	56.7	63.6	6.7
Quebec	52.5	61.3	38.7	50.1	67.5	7.4
Ontario	56.9	68.9	38.9	62.9	70.3	8.8
Manitoba	55.3	66.6	39.7	62.1	70.3	8.0
Saskatchewan	53.5	66.6	35.3	65.5	68.3	8.8
Alberta	57.0	65.6	39.4	65.8	69.0	7.9
British Columbia	51.9	67.9	35.6	68.0	66.4	9.5
Average absolute deviation ..	3.6	1.5	2.8	5.3	2.5	1.3
Average percentage deviation	6.7	2.3	7.4	9.1	3.7	16.2

Sources: 1961 Census Bulletin 7.1-10, Table 1, and Bulletin 3.3-1, Table 7.

deviation of provincial rates from the Canada rates in the relevant category. It will be seen from Table 5.5 that the absolute average deviation of the youngest group is higher than for persons in their early twenties, and that it is lower for both these groups than for the population as a whole. However, a more general measure of interprovincial differences which enables us to make comparisons between the deviation among specified age categories with that for the country as a whole, is the average percentage deviation which expresses the average absolute deviation as a percentage of the relevant Canada rate. Using this relative measure, it is found that the deviation of provincial participation rates from the Canada rate was highest in the youngest group at 7.4 per cent, while that of the 20-24-year olds was 3.7 per cent, just over half of the deviation for the country as a whole which stood

* Percentage points.

at 6.7 per cent. The much higher relative rates of teen-agers despite the closeness of the absolute average with that of the other two groups, is a reflection of the over-all lower participation rates of these young people, many of whom were still at school. These comparisons reveal that there were wide interprovincial differences in labour force participation among the very young, but for those aged 20-24, labour force behaviour did not exhibit much variation from one province to the next.(12) Complementary to this is the fact that interprovincial variation in school attendance at age 15-19 was 9.1 per cent compared to 16.2 per cent in the age group 20-24. Interprovincial differences in school attendance were almost twice as high among the young adults than among teen-agers, a situation which is explained by the fact that school attendance is less optional for persons in their teens.

Table 5.6 shows the average absolute and average relative differentials disaggregated by sex. The trend is the same for males and females, the interprovincial differential in economic activity becoming smaller as young people leave their teens and enter their early twenties, but the difference from one province to the next remains higher for girls than for boys at every stage. At 3.0 per cent the interprovincial differential for young men 20-24 was minimal while the corresponding rate at 9.3 per cent for young women was quite significant.

TABLE 5.6. Average deviation of Provincial Participation Rates from Canada Rates, by Sex, for Selected Age Groups, 1961

Age group	Average absolute deviation		Average percentage deviation	
	M	F	M	F
16-17	4.3	3.9	12.4	14.2
18-19	3.5	5.8	5.3	10.0
20-24	2.6	4.6	3.0	9.3
15 and over	3.6	3.8	4.6	12.8

Source: Ostry, Sylvia, Provincial Differences in Labour Force Participation, DBS, Ottawa, 1968, Table 2, page 5.

We have to this point, studied the historical trends in labour force participation of young people and examined the degree of interprovincial differences evidenced in this important indicator of economic activity. In the next section we shall discuss the degree of participation in economic activity of the young in relation to their share in the total population to determine whether and in what direction it has changed and to assess the economic significance of these changes to the country as a whole.

(12) Ostry, Sylvia, Provincial Differences in Labour Force Participation, DBS, Ottawa, 1968, Table 2, page 5.

Population and Labour Force Share Among Young Canadians

In 1961, the population 14-19 years of age constituted 14.3 per cent of the population 14 years and over, that is, the population from which the labour force is drawn. This proportion had declined from 17.1 per cent in 1931 to a low of 12.8 per cent in 1951 from which it recovered somewhat as a result of the high birth rate of the late forties. (See Table 5.7.) These changes in the proportion of teen-agers to the adult population have been accompanied by similar changes in their share of the total labour force, but in this variable the current has been stronger, with the result that the decline has been much steeper.

TABLE 5.7. Population and Labour Force by Selected Age Groups as Percentage of Population and Total Labour Force, 14 Years of Age and Over, Canada,(1) 1921-61

Year	Population as proportion of population 14+				Labour force as proportion of total LF 14+			
	14-19	20-24	25-34	35-64	14-19	20-24	25-34	35-64
	percentage				percentage			
1921	16.5	12.0	22.6	41.8	14.4	14.3	24.2	42.9
1931	17.1	12.5	20.5	42.0	12.9	15.9	23.1	43.7
1941	15.7	12.1	21.2	41.9	11.7	15.4	24.6	44.1
1951	12.8	10.9	21.8	43.6	10.2	14.2	24.4	46.7
1961	14.3	9.6	20.0	44.9	9.3	12.5	23.4	51.2

(1) Population data refer to Canada inclusive of Yukon and Northwest Territories. Labour force data refer to Canada, excluding Newfoundland, and including Yukon and Northwest Territories.

Sources: Denton, Frank T. and Ostry, Sylvia, Historical Estimates of the Canadian Labour Force, 1961 Census Bulletin 1.2-3, and Census of 1951, 1941, 1931, and 1921, Vol. X, Part 2, Table 12.

The 14-19-year olds are the only age group, apart from the older population (65+), whose share of the labour force has been smaller than its share of the population from which it is drawn for the entire period under review. This is as one would expect, bearing in mind the educational and retirement practices of western societies.

Table 5.8 reveals that the share of the female teen-age labour force remained relatively stable throughout the period under discussion. The male share, however, dropped by nearly half, a characteristic which has its origin in the same factors which influenced the changes in the labour force participation rate discussed earlier.

TABLE 5.8. Percentage of Selected Age Groups in Labour Force, as a Proportion of the Total Labour Force by Sex, Canada, 1921-61

Year	14-19		20-24		25-34		35-64	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
percentage								
1921	10.1	4.3	10.0	4.3	20.4	3.8	38.8	4.1
1931	8.9	4.0	10.7	5.2	18.8	4.3	39.1	4.6
1941	7.9	3.8	10.2	5.2	19.3	5.3	38.6	5.5
1951	6.3	3.9	9.2	5.0	19.2	5.2	39.0	7.7
1961	5.3	4.0	8.1	4.4	18.2	5.2	39.1	12.1

Source: Denton, Frank T. and Ostry, Sylvia, Historical Estimates of the Canadian Labour Force, Ottawa, 1967, calculated from Tables 3 to 7, pages 22-26.

The gap between the share of the teen-ager in the adult population and his share among the economically active represents the extent to which society bears the cost of educating and training its young. It is a cost both in terms of production foregone, and in terms of the actual expenditure on the provision of educational services. To the extent that improved education results in greater productivity at a later stage, society considers this cost as useful and essential social investment in human capital. Table 5.9 sets forth the difference between the proportion of selected age groups in the adult population and their share in the labour force, respectively, for the period 1921 to 1961. It may be observed that the gap has fluctuated widely in the case of the teen-age group. It doubled between 1921 and 1931 and again in the intercensal decade to 1961, both of which periods witnessed very significant growth in school attendance.

In the decade 1931-41 the gap remained stable at around - 4 points; in the succeeding decade to 1951 it narrowed by 35 per cent to - 2.6. Although school attendance had risen by 5 per cent this decade witnessed the only reversal in the trend to diminishing participation in the labour force since 1921, a fact which may be partially explained by the abundant employment opportunities created by the Second World War and the Korean crisis. Teen-agers responded to this event by a rise of 2.9 per cent in participation rate over the decade. These economic forces were reinforced by basic demographic changes. In the decade under consideration the proportion of teen-agers in the adult population had fallen from 15.7 per cent to a low of 12.8 per cent. This was the result of the low birth rate of the early thirties. These two forces combined to narrow the gap almost to its 1921 dimension.

By 1961, however, teen-age dependence had undergone a reversal and attained a maximum level. The same demographic and economic forces acting in the opposite direction had combined to increase the gap between the teen-ager's share in the population and his share in the labour force. As a result of the post-war baby boom, the proportion of teen-agers had risen to 14.3 per cent in 1961. This was the decade that witnessed large increases in the proportion of teen-agers attending school. As a consequence, teen-age labour force participation rate had dropped from 43.7 per cent to 36.2 per cent resulting in further reduction in their proportion of the total labour force. The cost to society of educating its young and preparing them effectively to assume the responsibility of adults had reached an unprecedented high.

TABLE 5.9. Differences Between the Share of Selected Age Groups in the Population and Labour Force 14 Years of Age and Over, Canada, 1921-61

Year	14-19	20-24	25-34	35-64
1921	- 2.1	+ 2.3	+ 1.6	+ 1.1
1931	- 4.2	+ 3.4	+ 2.6	+ 1.7
1941	- 4.0	+ 3.3	+ 3.4	+ 2.2
1951	- 2.6	+ 3.3	+ 2.6	+ 3.1
1961	- 5.0	+ 2.9	+ 3.4	+ 6.3

Source: Calculated from Table 5.7 of the text.

The picture is quite different for the 20-24-year olds. Like their younger brothers, their share in both the adult population and in the labour force has declined since 1921, the former at a more accelerated rate than the latter, reflecting to some extent the low birth rate of the late thirties. However, by contrast with the younger group their participation in the economic activity of the country has been in greater proportion to their share in the population through the entire period from 1921. In 1961 the proportions were 9.6 per cent of the population 14 years and over and 12.5 per cent of the labour force. This group, therefore, makes a positive contribution to the economic activity of the country in terms of the supply of labour, and is part of the larger group upon which the young and the old depend. The difference in their share of the two variables under consideration increased by 48 per cent between 1921 and 1931 and then remained relatively stable until 1961 when it narrowed by 12 per cent, reflecting in part the greatly accelerated rate at which this group went in for higher education during the fifties. Between 1951 and 1961 the proportion staying on at school had jumped from 4.9 per cent to 8.1 per cent (Table 5.4).

Simultaneously with these changes were forces at work in other segments of the population which contrived to displace the 20-24-year olds as the biggest contributors to the supply of labour measured in terms of the gap between their proportion in the labour force and their proportion in the adult population. From 1921 up to 1951 this gap was wider than that of all other age groups shown in Table 5.9. But in the decade 1951-61 the age group 35-64 became very active economically and the gap between the relevant variables more than doubled, jumping from 3.1 per cent to 6.3 per cent. The disaggregated figures of Table 5.8 reveal that almost all of the increase was due to the female element whose share of the labour force had increased by 4.4 per cent while the male share remained unchanged.

This increased share of older women in the labour force was a purely behavioural factor having little demographic significance since their share of the adult population had only risen by 1.3 per cent in that decade. To quote Allingham, "the rise in the participation rates of women in nearly all age and marital status categories more than counteracted the depressing effects of shifts in the demographic structure".(13) In particular the increased share reflects the well-documented fact of the re-entry into the labour force of older married women. It also reflects an

(13) Allingham, John P. The Demographic Background to Change in the Number and Composition of Female Wage-earner in Canada, 1951 to 1961. DBS, Ottawa, 1967, page 16.

unfavourable marital status shift away from the highly participating single women. "Even if 95 per cent of all single women aged 35-44 had been in the 1961 wage-earner labour force, the participation rate for married females of this age group would have had to rise from 12 per cent of 1951 to 20 per cent in 1961 in order to meet the demand (the 321,341 wage-earning females aged 35-44 recorded in the 1961 Census) . . . The reason for this functional relationship is the combination of increased demand as defined for female labour in certain age groups and the attribution over the decade of the proportions single in these age groups."(14) In 1961, then, for the first time in 40 years, the population aged 20-24 ceased to be the major net contributor to the supply of labour, having been displaced by the population above twenty-five years of age, in particular those 35-64 years whose labour force activity had undergone remarkable structural changes during the decade.

Employment Status

Up to this stage we have studied the labour force participation of young Canadians as it developed through the greater part of the twentieth century and attempted to analyse its changing patterns and characteristics. Now we shall attempt to draw a picture of the employment status of young Canadians as of June 1, 1961. Table 5.10 shows that at that date there were 1.4 million Canadians aged 15-19 of whom 38 per cent were in the labour force. About 54,000 of these, or just under 10 per cent were unemployed. The 20-24-year olds were less numerous, numbering only 1.2 million. Sixty-eight per cent of them were in the labour force and 40,653 or 5 per cent were seeking work. The table also gives the relevant figures from the 1951 Census but because of definitional differences in the two censuses, comparisons are not strictly valid. Nevertheless the figures are of some interest in themselves and are included for these reasons. They indicate that unemployment has been characteristically higher than the national average for both of the younger age groups under study, and further, that the rates have been consistently higher for the younger than the older of the two groups both in 1951 and 1961. Indeed, unemployment was highest among these two groups of young people in the boom year of 1951 and in the recession year of 1961. It is apparent therefore, that young people in Canada comprise a disproportionately large share of the unemployed. This fact is further demonstrated by comparison with the 1961 May-June average of the Labour Force Survey which is regarded as a more accurate measure of unemployment than the 1961 Census. In the latter record there appears to have been some undercounting of the unemployed. Census enumerators being less practised than the trained and experienced

(14) *Ibid.*, page 18.

TABLE 5.10. Population 15 Years of Age and Over Showing Employment Status, by Sex
for Age Groups 15-19 and 20-24, Canada, the Provinces and Territories,
1951 and 1961

Year and age group	Population 15+	Labour force	Labour force as % of population 15+	Employed	Unemployed	Unemployed as % of the labour force	Total not in the labour force
<u>Canada</u>							
1951(1) ..	9,742,092	5,289,446	54.3	5,198,772	90,674	1.7	4,392,509
1961(2) ..	12,046,325	6,510,356	54.0	6,259,452	250,904	3.9	5,535,969
1961(3) ..	12,023,211	6,496,636	54.0	6,246,214	250,422	3.8	5,526,575
<u>15-19</u>							
1951(1) ..	1,056,109	509,735	48.3	483,572	26,163	5.1	535,632
1961(2) ..	1,432,559	542,346	37.9	488,104	54,242	10.0	890,213
1961(3) ..	1,430,095	541,583	37.9	487,400	54,183	10.0	888,512
<u>20-24</u>							
1951(1) ..	1,086,087	753,307	69.4	737,559	15,748	2.1	324,199
1961(2) ..	1,183,646	807,192	68.2	766,539	40,653	5.0	376,454
1961(3) ..	1,180,298	805,087	68.2	764,511	40,576	5.0	375,211

(1) Excludes Yukon and Northwest Territories and Indians on reserves.

(2) Includes Yukon and Northwest Territories and includes Indians living on reserves.

(3) Excludes Yukon and Northwest Territories but includes Indians on reserves.

Source: 1961 Census Bulletin 3.3-1, Table 7.

enumerators who work regularly on the Labour Force Surveys may have missed a large number of marginal workers. There were also certain differences in timing and in coverage of the two counts but, by and large, the quality of the enumeration of the Survey tends to make it the more reliable estimate. As a result of these differences, the census unemployment figure of 3.9 per cent for Canada as a whole is much lower than the Labour Force Survey figure of 6.2 per cent for the same period. Data from the Survey substantiate the observation made earlier that young people suffer higher rates of unemployment than any other group. The Survey does not have a rate for the age group 15-19 years old since its definition of the labour force includes the fourteen-year olds. Its figure for the unemployment of the 14-19-year olds was 12.8 per cent and for the young adults 7.1 per cent. These were the highest rates for any of the age groups shown. Table 5.11 gives the unemployment rates as obtained by the Labour Force Survey and by the 1961 Census. These two sets of data are consistent only in showing higher rates for the two youngest groups relative to the rest of the population. The Labour Force Survey also suggests that census participation rates were too low.

TABLE 5.11. Differences in Participation Rates and Unemployment Rates as Between Census Data and Labour Force Survey, Canada, 1961

Age group	Participation rate		Unemployment rate	
	Census	Labour Force Survey	Census	Labour Force Survey
CANADA	54.0	54.6	3.9	6.2
15-19(1)	37.9	42.4	10.0	12.8
20-24	68.2	71.2	5.0	7.1
25-34	62.3	63.2	3.4	5.8
35-44	62.6	63.7	2.8	4.8
45-54	63.3	65.0	2.8	4.8
55-64	53.6	57.4	3.1	6.0
65+	17.2	17.8	2.9	4.2

(1) Labour Force Survey data for this age group are not comparable to census data since they refer to age group 14-19. Census data refer to Canada including Yukon and Northwest Territories and include Indians on reserves. Labour Force Survey is based on a sample of 35,000 chosen by area sampling methods across the country and is designed to cover all persons in the civilian non-institutional population 14 years and over, but excludes residents of Yukon and Northwest Territories and Indians on reserves.

Sources: Unpublished data from the Labour Force Survey, 1961, May and June; 1961 Census Bulletin 3.3-1, Table 7.

High unemployment among the young is in part attributable to the fact that at the early stages of entry into the labour force there is considerable job mobility as young people try to find their niche in the wide occupational spectrum of a highly industrialized society. The greater frequency of lay-offs associated with the less skilled types of employment into which the inexperienced and unskilled worker drifts is also a significant factor contributing to high rates of reported unemployment among the young. The Hall and McFarlane study suggests that many of the school leavers in the sample which they studied were not successful in finding jobs which offered an extended period of full-time employment and as a result suffered varying periods of unemployment. This, the report attributes to seasonal lay-offs in one of the major industries in the area.(15)

Unemployment among young people was not equally distributed as between male and female. Table 5.13 indicates that teen-age boys and young men experienced a greater degree of unemployment than girls of similar ages. Generally females enter white-collar occupations to a greater degree than males and those occupations traditionally offer greater job security in so far as they are not as subject to seasonality as are the manual occupations. It has been suggested that the lower amount of unemployment among females is partially accounted for by the fact that "20 per cent married and left the work world of business and industry ... thus

(15) Hall, Oswald and McFarlane, Bruce, Transition from School to Work, Department of Labour, Ottawa, 1965, page 60.

reducing a certain amount of the competition for jobs among younger members of the female labour force".(16)

Provincial Variations

There was considerable geographic variation in the rates of unemployment among young people as indeed there was among the population as a whole. Table 5.12 illustrates that interprovincial differences in teen-age unemployment ranged from a high of 15.8 per cent in Newfoundland to a low of 6.5 per cent in Saskatchewan; the range for young adults was from 10.1 per cent in Newfoundland to 3.1 per cent in Saskatchewan. The pattern was consistent; the provinces with the highest and lowest rates of unemployment for the population as a whole reflected this tendency in the rates for the two groups of young people. It will also be remembered that Newfoundland had the lowest over-all labour force participation rate of any province in Canada as well as the lowest for teen-agers and young adults.

TABLE 5.12. Unemployment Rates by Selected Age Groups, Canada and the Provinces, 1961

Province	Unemployment rates		
	Provincial totals	Age group	
		15-19	20-24
percentage			
CANADA	3.9	10.0	5.0
Newfoundland	8.6	15.8	10.1
Prince Edward Island	2.6	7.7	3.7
Nova Scotia	4.3	11.8	5.4
New Brunswick	5.9	13.6	7.0
Quebec	4.4	9.8	5.8
Ontario	3.3	10.0	4.3
Manitoba	2.8	7.3	3.8
Saskatchewan	2.0	6.5	3.1
Alberta	2.8	7.2	3.4
British Columbia	5.3	13.6	6.5
Average absolute deviation	1.5	2.6	1.6
Average percentage deviation	38.5	26.0	32.0

Source: 1961 Census Bulletin 3.3-1, Table 7.

The average absolute deviation of provincial rates from the over-all rate for teen-agers was 2.6 percentage points which was 26 per cent of the unemployment rate of this age group as a whole. The average absolute deviation of the 20-24-year-old group was almost identical to that for the provinces as a whole, but the relative deviation

(16) Ibid., page 61.

was somewhat lower as a consequence of the much higher over-all unemployment rate of this age group. It would seem that interprovincial variations in unemployment were lower among teen-agers than among the 20-24-year-old group, and that they were lower in both these groups than in the population as a whole.

Thirty-two per cent of the unemployed teen-agers and 28 per cent of unemployed young adults were female. Of the unemployed teen-agers 41 per cent were seeking their first job. As about 60 per cent of the new seekers indicated school attendance it is conceivable that a large portion of these would have been looking for temporary summer jobs, but quite a number would have left school and would have been joining the economically active on a more permanent basis. Unpublished data indicate much higher rates of unemployment among those with school attendance in the last year than among those who were not attending school. This applied to the young adults as well as to the teen-agers.

Unemployment and Marital Status

Unemployment rates among married men of all age groups were consistently lower than the rates for the male labour force as a whole. The pattern is clearly evident among the youngest groups. Table 5.13 illustrates that unemployment was 4.5 per cent lower among married teen-age males than among the single and 3.0 per cent lower among young married men in their early twenties than among single men in that age group. The disparity increases with increasing age (except for the group which has reached retirement age) mainly as a consequence of the lower unemployment rates of older persons.

TABLE 5.13. Unemployment Rates by Sex, Age and Marital Status, Canada, 1961

Sex and age	Marital status			
	All status	Single	Married	Widowed and divorced
percentage				
Males:				
15-19	12.5	12.6	8.1	8.0
20-24	6.2	7.2	4.2	7.5
25-34	3.6	6.0	3.0	6.3
35-44	3.1	6.1	2.7	5.8
45-54	3.2	6.0	2.9	5.2
55-64	3.5	6.1	3.2	4.7
65+	3.2	3.8	3.2	3.2
Females:				
15-19	7.8	7.8	8.4	6.2
20-24	3.0	2.2	4.7	3.3
25-34	2.5	1.5	3.1	2.7
35-44	2.1	1.2	2.2	2.8
45-54	1.8	1.1	1.9	2.3
55-64	1.6	1.1	1.7	1.9
65+	1.4	0.9	1.7	1.7

Sources: 1961 Census Runs 3, 7 and 10 (unpublished), and 1961 Census Bulletin 3.3-13, Table 35.

Among females, however, the pattern is rather different, unemployment rates being higher for married women in most age groups (except for the two oldest categories) than for females as a whole irrespective of marital status. The differential in the rates between married and single teen-agers is not very great, but among married women in their early twenties unemployment is more than twice as high as that experienced by single women in that age group.

While unemployment rates are lower among young married men than among young single men, the reverse is true for young women among whom married persons experience more unemployment than single ones. This condition is perhaps a reflection of two different influences combined. The first one is the generally lower motivation of married women for whom employment is not usually a pressing necessity. The other is the effect of hiring practices of employers which seem to favour single women in preference to married ones. It is interesting to note, however, that the unemployment rate for young men and women, given that both are married, are about equal. Among single persons, however, females experience lower unemployment than males. This may be a consequence of the fact that young women are employed mainly in white-collar and service jobs which are not as susceptible to lay-offs as are the manufacturing industries in which young men work. It is more than likely that young women view employment as a stop-gap until they get married and are therefore less prone to shop around than are their male counterparts. A thesis advanced by Sylvia Ostry suggests that "Canadian women are less fully committed to labour force activity", than are women in some other countries.(17) According to this theory, Canadian women readily drop out of the labour force when they become unemployed, and many of them will take a job when it becomes available without having actively looked around. As applied to married women this seems to be consistent with observed practice. If it is correct, it would seem reasonable to assume that their labour force participation rate more accurately reflects the number which in the reference period had a job, than the more general definition of participation rate.

Unemployment and Family Responsibility

Unemployment is viewed with varying degrees of concern according as it affects different members of the household. For example, it is much more serious in the head of the household than it is in an unmarried son or daughter. Among young people 15-24 taken as a whole, the rate of unemployment differs considerably according to relationship to the head of the household. The variability among family members is more marked in this age group than it is in the population over fifteen. It will be seen from Table 5.14 that the female head of the households had a much lower rate than the male head. This is in keeping with the generally lower unemployment rates for women. Male household heads had an unemployment rate of 3.6 per cent compared to 11.0 per cent for single sons and 7.2 per cent for other male family members. Thus, marriage and family responsibility would seem to have a marked influence on the employment status of young men, exerting pressures which combine to keep them working. It is to be noted, however, that young people whatever their relationship to the head of the household, experience higher rates of unemployment than the average for the population as a whole. Whereas the national average for the male head of household was 2.8 per cent, the rate for young male heads was 3.6 per cent.

(17) Ostry, Sylvia, Unemployment in Canada, page 7, Queen's Printer, 1967.

TABLE 5.14. Unemployment Rates by Relationship to Head of Family
Aged 15-24 and 15+, Canada, 1961

Family membership	Unemployment rates	
	Age group	
	15-24	15+
percentage		
Heads (male)	3.6	2.8
Heads (female)	2.1	2.0
Wives	4.9	2.5
Single sons	11.0	9.7
Other male family members	7.2	5.9
Single daughters	6.5	5.1
Other female family members	2.6	2.1

Source: Ostry, Sylvia, Unemployment in Canada, page 47, Table 23.

Unemployment and Education

Table 5.15 gives the unemployment rates by level of schooling by age groups. It becomes immediately apparent upon looking at the table that unemployment rates tended to decrease as the level of education increased taking the population as a whole. Persons who failed to complete elementary school experienced unemployment rates more than two and a half times as high as persons who had completed 4 to 5 years of secondary school. Similarly, persons who only completed high school had 2.5 per cent unemployment compared with 1.8 per cent for those with some university or a university degree.

The same pattern of decreasing unemployment rates with increasing levels of education is apparent in the teen-age and young adult groups up to the end of secondary school, although at equivalent levels of education the unemployment rates of the young were generally higher than those of the population as a whole. An exception to this rule appeared in the case of young adults 20-24 years old with 4 to 5 years of secondary schooling; their unemployment rate was 2.8 per cent compared to 2.5 per cent for the total population.

At the level of university education, unemployment rates of young people exhibited a pattern quite different from that of any other group in the population. Instead of continuing downward, it rose above the rate of high school graduates in these two groups and reverted to approximately the same rate as that experienced by persons with only 1 to 3 years of secondary schooling.

It would seem, then, that although as a general rule there is a close association between level of education and unemployment, certain special factors intrude in the case of young people with university education. This is probably related to the timing of the census. New graduates and students in search of summer employment have had very little time to look around in the short period between the end of the academic year and the first of June.

TABLE 5.15. Unemployment Rates by Each Level of Schooling, Age Group and Sex, Canada, (1) 1961 Census

Age group	Total			Elementary						Secondary						Some university or university degree		
				Less than 5			5 and over			1-3			4-5					
	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F
Canada unem- ployment rate	3.8	4.2	2.9	6.9	7.5	3.4	4.6	5.0	3.2	3.7	3.9	3.4	2.5	2.7	2.3	1.8	1.9	1.7
15-19	10.0	12.0	7.5	13.4	15.4	8.4	10.9	12.9	7.1	9.9	11.3	8.3	8.7	11.6	6.5	9.7	11.4	7.5
20-24	5.0	6.2	3.0	10.4	12.1	5.3	7.6	8.6	4.4	4.7	5.4	3.4	2.8	3.6	1.9	4.8	5.9	2.8
25-34	3.4	3.6	2.5	9.0	9.9	4.4	4.9	5.3	3.2	2.9	3.0	2.7	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.2	1.2	1.3
35-44	2.8	3.1	2.0	7.5	8.3	3.5	3.7	4.0	2.5	2.3	2.4	2.1	1.5	1.6	1.5	0.8	0.8	1.0
45-54	2.8	3.2	1.8	6.4	7.0	2.9	3.3	3.6	2.2	2.3	2.5	1.8	1.6	1.8	1.2	0.9	1.0	0.7
55-64	3.1	3.5	1.6	5.4	6.0	2.2	3.3	3.7	1.9	2.5	2.8	1.6	1.7	2.0	1.2	0.9	1.0	0.6
65+	2.9	3.2	1.4	4.1	4.4	1.8	3.0	3.2	1.6	2.6	3.0	1.4	2.3	2.8	1.3	1.2	1.3	0.8

(1) Includes Yukon and Northwest Territories.
 Sources: 1961 Census Bulletin 3.1-13, Table 19, and unpublished data from lines 7 and 10.

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Summary

The diminished role of the teen-age population in the economic activity of Canada and the enhanced contribution of young adults, consequent upon the increased labour force participation of the female members of this group, are among the most interesting features to emerge from our survey of the labour force and employment characteristics of the young. The cost to society of educating its teen-agers has increased considerably in the decade 1951-61. This is the only group, apart from the older population, whose share of the labour force has been smaller than its share of the population from which it is drawn for the entire period under review: a circumstance which is not surprising in view of the educational and retirement practices of our society. By contrast, the participation of young adults in the economic activity of the country has been in greater proportion to their share in the population. This group makes a positive contribution to the economy in terms of the supply of labour and is part of the larger group upon which the young and the old depend.

For a number of reasons related to the high occupational mobility of new entrants into the labour force and the greater incidence of lay-offs in the less skilled occupations into which the unskilled are attracted, unemployment rates among the young were the highest experienced by any group. There was, however, considerable geographic variation in the unemployment rates of the young as indeed there was of the whole population. Married men experienced lower rates of unemployment than single men. Among females the rates were highest for married women, a fact which perhaps reflects the generally lower motivation of married women and the discriminatory hiring practices of employers.

Unemployment tends to decrease as the level of education increases, the highest rates being experienced by young people who fail to complete elementary school.

CHAPTER VI

OCCUPATION AND INDUSTRY PATTERNS

This chapter deals with the occupational and industrial attachments of young Canadians. It examines their distribution among occupations and their representation in the various sectors of the economy and traces the changes that have taken place in the decade between the 1951 and 1961 Censuses.

Changes in the distribution of the work force among different occupations are, in some measure, a reflection of the technological and organizational changes that have taken place in the production of goods and services. In the long run they reflect differing rates of growth of different industries, the emergence of new industries and the decay of those for whose products there has ceased to be effective demand. Changes in the occupational distribution of various groups in the labour force result in changes in income levels and are potent factors influencing the norms and expectations which are the precursors to social change. In response to changing demand for various skills, knowledge and techniques, the educational system gradually adapts itself to train new entrants to the labour force and to retain older workers in the new skills required by industry. Since social mobility in twentieth century western society is largely via educational attainment and indirectly by way of occupational attachment, these technological and economic changes result in fundamental changes in the social structure.

The occupational distribution of young people exhibits marked differences according to whether they are in their teens or in their early twenties and whether they are summer students or have a more permanent attachment to the labour force. Summer jobs are seldom indicative of long-run plans and are merely considered as a means to an end. These differences may quite conceivably be attributable to variations in the level of education and in the degree of work experience that exist between teen-agers and young adults. As Table 6.1 indicates larger proportions of persons in the labour force aged 20-24 years had attained higher levels of secondary education than teen-age persons, or indeed than any other age group; they had also attained higher levels of university education than any group except the 25-34-year olds who surpassed them by a very slim margin. Of the teen-agers 20 per cent had 4 to 5 years of secondary schooling and 3.8 per cent had some university education or a university degree. This compares unfavourably with the 26.2 per cent of persons in their early twenties who had similar amounts of secondary education and the 10.0 per cent who had some university or a university degree.

TABLE 6.1. Percentage Distribution of the Labour Force Showing Age Groups by Schooling, Canada, (1) 1961

Both sexes

Schooling	Labour force							
	15+	15-19	20-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
percentage								
<u>Elementary</u>								
Less than 5 years	6.2	1.8	2.1	3.6	5.5	8.5	13.9	16.5
5 years +	34.3	27.6	24.4	31.6	34.5	38.8	45.1	45.8
<u>Secondary</u>								
1-3 years	32.5	46.8	37.3	34.5	32.6	28.0	22.0	19.4
4-5 years	18.3	20.0	26.2	20.1	17.8	15.6	11.7	11.0
Some university and university degree	8.8	3.8	10.0	10.2	9.6	8.4	7.2	7.4

(1) Includes Yukon and Northwest Territories.

Sources: 1961 Census Bulletin 3.1-13, Table 19, and unpublished data from Tabulation 10.

Using educational attainment as a general index of occupational attachment by broad categories, it would be natural to expect from the statistics in Table 6.1 that the older group was more strongly represented in the prestigious white-collar occupations than their younger brothers. Table 6.2 unequivocally bears out this assumption; not only were the 20-24-year olds more concentrated than teen-agers in managerial, professional and clerical jobs, but, in the last two groups of occupations, their representation exceeded the national average. This group was also more heavily concentrated in those blue-collar occupations which require greater degrees of education and training such as crafts and production processes.

TABLE 6.2. Percentage Distribution of the Labour Force Showing Selected Age Groups,
by Occupation Division, Canada,(1) 1961

Both sexes

Occupation	Total labour force	Labour force	
		15-19	20-24
percentage			
White-collar	37.3	35.7	42.6
Managerial	8.3	0.3	1.8
Professional and technical	9.7	5.6	13.0
Clerical	12.9	20.1	21.9
Sales	6.4	9.7	5.8
Blue-collar	29.0	25.4	27.9
Craftsmen, production process and related workers ...	23.6	15.6	21.1
Labourers	5.3	9.8	6.8
Transportation and communication occupations	6.1	4.8	5.9
Service and recreation occupations	12.3	17.9	12.2
Primary occupations(2)	12.8	14.7	9.1
Farmers and farm workers	10.0	12.0	5.9
Loggers and related workers	1.2	1.7	1.7
Miners, quarrymen and related workers	1.0	0.4	1.0
Occupation not stated	2.6	1.5	2.2

(1) Includes Yukon and Northwest Territories.

(2) Includes fishermen, trappers and hunters.

Source: Cat. 94-551, 1961 Census Bulletin SL Series, Table 10.

The teen-agers were concentrated in sales occupations to a greater extent than the 20-24-year olds or the labour force as a whole. The inclusion of newspaper vendors in this group of occupations partially explains the concentration of teen-agers in this group, but it is not the whole answer. In the blue-collar sector they were more heavily represented in labouring jobs than the 20-24-year olds. They were also predominant in service and recreational jobs and in primary occupations particularly as farmers and farm workers.

These structural differences between the two groups of young people which are largely attributable to differences in age and education are seen again in the comparison of the occupational attachments of persons in their early twenties with that of the labour force as a whole. In white-collar occupations which require at least some secondary education, the 20-24-year olds were represented in a degree greater than the national average. Within this broad grouping they exceeded the national average in professional occupations by 3.3 per cent and in clerical jobs by 9.0 per cent. In the light of the fact that 7.9 per cent more of this age group had 4 to 5 years secondary school and 1.2 per cent more had some university or a university degree than the labour force as a whole, it is not surprising that they predominated in these prestigious and high-income occupations. However, education is only one, albeit a very important factor, in occupational attachment; this is

evidenced by the fact that 8.3 per cent of the total labour force was engaged in managerial positions compared to a mere 1.8 per cent of the 20-24-year olds. In occupations where experience and age are generally considered essential qualifications, young people, despite their greater degree of formal education had less than average representation.

Occupational Distribution by Sex

Female workers are heavily concentrated in a very few occupations. As Table 6.3 indicates, more than half of all women in the labour force were in white-collar occupations and just under a quarter were in service jobs. Thus, over three quarters of the female labour force were engaged in two broad occupational groups. The male labour force was more widely distributed among white-collar, blue-collar, primary and other occupations. In some of the primary occupations and in jobs requiring manual labour, women were either not represented at all, or they exhibited only token representation. This pattern is even more strongly marked among young people. Teen-age girls were concentrated in the same two broad occupational groupings as females in general, but a greater proportion of them were in service and recreational jobs and a smaller proportion in white-collar jobs. Their representation in primary occupations was less than half that of the national average for women.

TABLE 6.3. Percentage Distribution of the Labour Force for Selected Age Groups,
by Occupation Division and Sex, Canada,(1) 1961

Occupation	Total labour force		Labour force			
			15-19		20-24	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
percentage						
White-collar	30.3	55.9	22.2	52.4	29.0	66.0
Managerial	10.2	3.3	0.4	0.1	2.6	0.5
Professional and technical	7.6	15.4	2.1	9.8	7.8	22.0
Clerical	6.9	28.8	10.1	32.6	12.1	39.0
Sales	5.6	8.4	9.5	9.9	6.6	4.6
Blue-collar	35.0	12.8	34.4	14.2	37.4	11.5
Craftsmen production process and related workers	28.2	11.6	18.2	12.3	27.3	10.5
Labourers	6.9	1.2	16.2	1.9	10.1	1.0
Transport and communication occupations	7.5	2.2	6.5	2.6	7.8	2.6
Service and recreation occupations	8.5	22.4	10.3	27.4	10.0	16.2
Primary occupations(2)	16.0	4.3	24.8	2.1	13.4	1.6
Farmers and farm workers	12.2	4.3	20.0	2.1	8.4	1.5
Loggers and related workers	1.7	—	3.1	—	2.7	—
Miners, quarrymen and related workers	1.4	—	0.7	—	1.6	—
Occupation not stated	2.6	2.4	1.7	1.2	2.3	2.0

(1) Includes Yukon and Northwest Territories.

(2) Includes fishermen, trappers and hunters.

Source: Cat. 94-551, 1961 Census Bulletin, SL Series, Table 10.

Women in their early twenties were even more heavily concentrated in the two occupational groups which are beginning to be regarded as "women's work". Over 82 per cent of them were in white-collar and service and recreational jobs. The white-collar jobs claimed 66 per cent; within this broad category 39 per cent were in clerical and 22 per cent in professional occupations, and in both of these fields the proportion of women in their early twenties was higher than the proportion of all women in the labour force.

Comparing men and women aged 20-24 years it is found that a larger proportion of the men were in managerial and sales jobs and they were more heavily concentrated than women in blue-collar and all other similar occupations except the service and recreational sectors. The greater proportion of women to men in professional and clerical occupations is a reflection of the highly selective nature of female entry into the labour force. Whereas male participation is unconditional, females tend to be in the labour force in greater proportion if they are better educated. The positive correlation between labour force participation and level of education has been observed both for the United States and for Canada.(18) Most men are in the

(18) Ostry, Sylvia, The Female Worker in Canada, 1961 Census Monograph, DBS, Ottawa, 1968, page 30.

labour force as a matter of course, but it is largely the better educated women who are apt to participate, a circumstance which is in part influenced by the different marital and fertility patterns of the more educated woman. The fact that the nature of the employment open to better educated women is more attractive, is perhaps a contributory factor to this correlation. That the female labour force is generally better educated is illustrated by Table 6.4. In 1961, of the population 15 years and over, 78 per cent of the men and 30 per cent of the women were in the labour force. Of this proportion of women who worked or looked for work, larger proportions had 4 to 5 years secondary education than did their male counterpart. However, it is true that a greater proportion of the male labour force, both generally and in the two age groups with which we are particularly concerned, had university education.

TABLE 6.4. Percentage Distribution of the Labour Force Showing Selected Age Groups, by Schooling and Sex, Canada,(1) 1961

Schooling	Labour force					
	15+		15-19		20-24	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
percentage						
<u>Elementary</u>						
Less than 5 years(2)	7.1	3.6	2.4	1.2	2.5	1.4
5 years +	37.3	26.2	32.1	22.0	28.7	16.9
<u>Secondary</u>						
1-3 years	31.1	36.1	46.4	47.2	37.8	36.3
4-5 years	15.3	26.2	15.2	26.0	20.7	35.9
Some university and university degree ...	9.1	7.7	3.8	3.6	10.2	9.5

(1) Includes Yukon and Northwest Territories.

(2) Includes persons with no schooling or kindergarten only.

Sources: 1961 Census Bulletin 3.1-13, Table 19, and unpublished data from Tabulation 10.

Comparing the population and the labour force by level of education as is done in Table 6.5, it is seen that at the level of education of 5 years elementary school, the female share of the population exceeded her share of the labour force by 9.4 per cent while the difference in the male share of these two variables was only 2.2 per cent. However, as educational levels rise the disparity is reversed and one finds that at 4 to 5 years secondary school, both male and female were more heavily represented in the labour force than in the population, but the female share in the former exceeded her share in the population by 7.4 per cent while the male differential was only 1.6 per cent. Particularly noticeable is the disposition in the labour force representation of females who have university education. Their share in the labour force was 3.1 per cent greater than their share in the population whereas the male differential was only 1.6 per cent. It is apparent, therefore, that at high levels of education, women were more than proportionately represented in the labour force while at low levels of education their participa-

tion was less than proportionate. This may be attributable to the fact that the jobs which are available to well-educated women are more pleasant and interesting and command better wages relatively to those which are offered to less educated women, and other things being equal, the temptation to enter the labour market is stronger for the better educated woman than for her less informed counterpart. This pattern is very strongly evident in the case of persons in their early twenties. Young men who have 4 to 5 years secondary education comprised equal proportions of the labour force and of the population. Young women, on the other hand, were 8.6 per cent more strongly represented in the labour force than in the population. In the case of university education, however, young men had a slight edge over young women in their relative share of the labour force and of the population.

Changes in Occupational Distributions 1951-61

Concentration indices are a measure of the proportion of persons in a specified age group in an occupation relative to all persons in the same occupation. In order to study and compare the degree of concentration of young people in particular occupations, concentration indices have been prepared for male teenagers and young adults for the census years 1951 and 1961. They present an historical comparison between the occupational structure of young people and that of the entire labour force.

Table 6.6 is the index for young females in both age categories. It reveals that concentration had increased over the decade in the two groups of occupations which require a considerable degree of education, namely professional and clerical occupations, although the representation remained below average in the former and above average in the latter. In all occupations which do not require high standards of education apart from primary occupations teen-age girls showed above-average representation. In the decade from 1951 to 1961 concentration had increased in service occupations and decreased in crafts, labouring, transport and primary occupations.

TABLE 6.5. Comparative Distribution of the Population 15 Years of Age and Over, Not Attending School,
and the Labour Force in Selected Age Groups, by Schooling and Sex, Canada, (1) 1961

Schooling	Canada				15-19				20-24			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Popu- lation	Labour force										
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Elementary</u>												
Less than 5 years(2)	10.6	7.1	8.2	3.6	5.5	2.4	3.4	1.2	3.7	2.5	2.9	1.4
5 years +	39.5	37.3	35.6	26.2	42.6	32.1	31.9	22.0	31.6	28.7	24.2	16.9
<u>Secondary</u>												
1-3 years	28.7	31.1	32.7	36.1	41.2	46.4	45.3	47.2	39.1	37.8	40.5	36.3
4-5 years	13.7	15.3	18.8	26.2	10.0	15.2	18.3	26.0	20.1	20.7	27.3	35.9
Some university or university degree	7.5	9.1	4.6	7.7	0.7	3.8	1.1	3.6	5.4	10.2	5.1	9.5

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(1) Includes Yukon and Northwest Territories.

(2) Includes persons with no schooling or kindergarten only.

Sources: 1961 Census Bulletin 3.1-13, Table 19, unpublished data from Tabulation 10, and Bulletin 1.3-6,

Table 102.

TABLE 6.6. Concentration Index,(1) Selected Occupation Divisions for Females
Aged 15-19 and 20-24, Canada,(2) 1951 and 1961

Occupation	15-19		20-24	
	1951	1961	1951	1961
percentage				
Managerial	0.03	0.03	0.21	0.15
Professional and technical	0.46	0.64	1.13	1.43
Clerical	1.08	1.13	1.31	1.35
Sales	1.19	1.18	0.88	0.55
Craftsmen, production process and related workers	1.18	1.06	0.96	0.90
Labourers	1.67	1.58	0.94	0.83
Transport and communication occupations	1.57	1.18	1.28	1.18
Service and recreation occupations	1.05	1.22	0.73	0.72
Primary occupations	0.89	0.49	0.50	0.37
Occupation not stated	1.64	0.50	1.09	0.83

(1) Percentage of females in specified age group in the occupation divided by percentage of all females in the same occupation.

(2) Includes Yukon and Northwest Territories.

Sources: Cat. 94-551, 1961 Census Bulletin, SL Series, Table 10, and 1961 Classification.

The index for males is given in Table 6.7. Teen-age boys exhibited above-average concentration in sales, labouring, service, primary and clerical occupations. In all of these groups concentration had increased over the decade. In sales occupations the increase had been more than fifty per cent bringing it to well above-average representation. In labouring and service occupations concentration increased by 24 per cent, respectively, over the decade. By 1961 teen-age boys exhibited extreme concentration in labouring occupations in which they had two and a third times above-average representation. These are low income, low status jobs requiring minimal educational qualifications and the increased concentration seems to suggest that the boys had "lost out" somewhat in the market place. However, it must be borne in mind that a large number of boys of this age are engaged in part-time or temporary work during a period when they are continuing their education; to the extent that this is the case, occupation is viewed as merely a stop gap; the nature of the work is not important.

TABLE 6.7. Concentration Index,(1) Selected Occupation Divisions for Males
Aged 15-19 and 20-24, Canada,(2) 1951 and 1961

Occupation	15-19		20-24	
	1951	1961	1951	1961
percentage				
Managerial	0.02	0.04	0.06	0.25
Professional and technical	0.21	0.28	0.83	1.03
Clerical	1.37	1.46	1.53	1.75
Sales	1.11	1.70	1.11	1.18
Craftsmen, production process and related workers	0.74	0.64	0.99	0.97
Labourers	1.89	2.35	1.32	1.46
Transport and communication occupations	0.90	0.87	1.22	1.04
Service and recreation occupations	0.98	1.21	1.17	1.18
Primary occupations	1.41	1.55	0.95	0.84
Occupation not stated	2.08	0.65	1.33	0.88

(1) Percentage of males in specified age group in the occupation divided by percentage of all males in the same occupation.

(2) Includes Yukon and Northwest Territories.

Sources: Cat. 94-551, 1961 Census Bulletin, SL Series, Table 10, and 1961 Classification.

By the age of 20-24, commitment to the labour market has become somewhat more firm and the choice of occupation more important. As a general rule, occupation at this period of life is a fair indication of what occupational attachment is likely to be for the rest of a person's working life, barring the effects of rapid technological change which would tend to make the statement somewhat less valid. In 1961 young women in their early twenties were most heavily concentrated in professional, clerical and transport occupations in all of which they had above-average representation. In professional and clerical jobs their concentration had increased between 1951 and 1961, the increment in the former group being over 26 per cent.

Men in their early twenties were much less strongly concentrated in labouring occupations than were their teen-age brothers although their representation continued to be above average. Among white-collar occupations they were most heavily concentrated in clerical jobs in which they made large gains since 1951. In professional occupations they moved from below-average concentration in 1951 to just a little above average in 1961.

Industrial Concentration

Teen-age boys were most heavily concentrated in agriculture, forestry, fishing and trapping, trade and personal service industries, in all of which they had above-average representation. Teen-age girls were concentrated in the finance, insurance and real estate industries and in personal service industries to a degree much above average.

The older group of males had above-average concentration in forestry, fishing and trapping, mines, construction, finance, insurance and real estate, public administration and defence industries, education and trade. The women were concentrated in finance, insurance and real estate, transportation, communication and other utilities and educational and related services, and in all of these they had above-average representation. In the mainly male-oriented industry of mines, quarries and oil wells, the percentage of young females was much greater than the percentage of all females, since one would expect that youth would be a major qualification for attachment to these primary industries. However, a breakdown by occupations reveals that the women in those industries were mainly engaged in clerical jobs and not in the more physically demanding occupations usually associated with primary industries.

TABLE 6.8. Concentration Index,(1) Selected Industries, Males and Females
Aged 15-19 and 20-24, Canada,(2) 1961

Industry	15-19		20-24	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
percentage				
Agriculture	1.65	0.52	0.69	0.39
Forestry, fishing and trapping	1.57	0.50	1.37	0.50
Mines,(3) quarries and oil wells	0.48	0.66	1.12	1.33
Manufacturing industries	0.84	1.09	0.97	1.06
Construction industry	0.79	0.67	1.12	1.00
Transportation, communication and other utilities	0.52	1.06	0.93	1.40
Trade	1.54	1.10	1.15	0.75
Finance, insurance and real estate	0.77	1.49	1.19	1.66
Community, business and personal service industries	0.81	0.97	0.91	1.01
Education and related services	0.36	0.49	1.04	1.27
Health and welfare services	0.44	1.00	0.67	1.25
Services to business management	—	0.85	—	1.15
Personal services	1.11	1.28	0.86	0.68
Public administration and defence	0.84	0.73	1.19	1.06
Industry unspecified or undefined	0.60	0.42	0.80	0.83

(1) Percentage of males in specified age group in the occupation divided by percentage of all males in the same occupation.

(2) Includes Yukon and Northwest Territories.

(3) Includes milling.

Sources: 1961 Census Bulletin 7.1-12, Table 7, and Bulletin 3.2-6, Table 9.

Summary

Changes in the distribution of the work force among different occupations reflect, in some measure, technological and organizational changes that have taken place in the production of goods and services. These changes result in shifts in income levels and stimulate social change.

The occupational distribution of young people exhibits marked differences as between the teen-ager and the young adult. These facts probably reflect differences in the educational attainment and the work experience of the two age groups. The young adults were more strongly represented in the prestigious white-collar occupations than their younger brothers. Teen-agers were concentrated in sales occupations and in labour jobs to a greater degree than the 20-24-year olds. They were also predominant in service and recreational jobs and in primary occupations particularly as farmers and farm workers.

Comparison of these young groups with the total population reveals that in white-collar occupations which require at least some secondary education, the 20-24-year-olds were represented in greater measure than the population taken as a whole surpassing it in professional occupations and clerical jobs by 3.3 per cent and 9.0 per cent, respectively. Underlying this supremacy lies the fact of the greater educational attainment of the young adults. However, in managerial occupations where experience and age are generally considered to be desirable qualifications, young people, despite their greater degree of formal education had less than average representation.

Young female workers were heavily concentrated in a few occupations, more than half of them being in white-collar occupations and just under one-quarter in service jobs. Thus, over three quarters of the female labour force were engaged in two broad occupational groups compared to the males who were more evenly distributed among white-collar, blue-collar and primary occupations.

A high association between level of education and labour force participation of female workers has been observed. This is to some extent explained by the different marital and fertility patterns of the better educated woman. The fact that the nature of the occupations open to educated women is more attractive can also be considered to be a contributory factor to this correlation. Concentration of young females in the two groups of occupations which require considerable amounts of education, namely professional and clerical, had increased over the decade from 1951 to 1961. Representation was below average in professional occupations and above average in clerical. These trends applied to both teen-age girls and the young adult female.

Teen-age boys had above-average concentration in sales, labouring, service, primary and clerical occupations and concentration had increased in each of these groups over the decade. Teen-age boys were extremely heavily concentrated in the low income-low status labouring occupations. Men in their early twenties were much less strongly concentrated in labouring occupations than teen-age boys although their representation continued to be above average. Teen-age boys were most heavily concentrated in agriculture, forestry, fishing and trapping, trade and personal service industries. Teen-age girls, on the other hand, were concentrated in the finance, insurance and real estate industries and in personal service industries. Thus, we find that occupational distribution differs both within the two age categories of young people as well as between young people and the population as a whole.

CHAPTER VII

INCOME DISTRIBUTION

The income position of young Canadians will be analysed in this chapter with a view to determining how the economic goods are distributed as between this group and other sections of the population as well as to assess the economic well-being of Canadians in these very important years of their life. A comprehensive study of the existing income structure requires analysis of the sources and sizes of income; these will be related to such demographic determinants of income levels as age, education, occupation and marital status. Non-demographic factors which affect the level of income will also be examined and an attempt will be made to quantify the regional differences in income size. Further, the income of families as such, will be distinguished from the income of individuals and analysed separately.

The data necessary for making such a study became available for the first time with the publication of the 1961 Census reports. Previous censuses dating back to 1901 had published information on the wage and salary earnings of employed persons. This material was of limited usefulness on two main scores. In the first place it took no account of self-employed or own-account workers and, in the second place, it recorded income from a single source, namely labour income (wages and salaries). This had the effect of eliminating persons who were not in the labour force but nevertheless received income from sources such as investments, transfer payments, et cetera; it further understated the income position of labour force members who had supplementary incomes from these sources.

To meet the need for more complete data on incomes, the 1961 Census was expanded to collect information on income from all adult residents in a 20 per cent sample of private non-farm households. The questionnaire was designed to elicit the facts about money income received from employment, investments, transfer payments, retirement benefits and pensions. No attempt was made to assess the value of income received in kind but, with this small exception, a large volume of extremely valuable information on the income of Canadians on a large scale(19) has become available for the first time.

Individual Income

Income flows to individuals in return for their ownership and use of the factors of production such as labour, land and capital. Additionally, in advanced countries, income accrues to individuals in the form of transfer payments designed to supplement income through various government schemes for income maintenance. Since the primary recipients of income are individual members of society, individual income will be studied first. Family incomes will be examined separately because the structure of family income differs substantially from that of individual incomes, and its size distribution has important implications for living levels of the individual members and for the evaluation of income adequacy.

(19) In the spring of 1952 the Survey of Incomes was carried out in conjunction with the Labour Force Survey. The sample, however, was restricted to 5,600 families. See Distribution of Non-farm Income in Canada by Size, 1951.
DBS Ref. Paper No. 52, November 1954.

First the number of young individuals who have no income will be isolated and the factors which contribute to this characteristic will be analysed. Then will follow an analysis of the distribution of income among those young people who are in receipt of income. As Table 7.1 indicates there were 804,831 young persons aged 15-24 who had no income during the year preceding the census of June 1961. This was 37.4 per cent of the total number of persons in that age group. By comparison with the adult population as a whole this was a rather high proportion. The relevant proportion of the population 15 years and over was only 27.6 per cent. The breakdown by sex exhibits some interesting variations. Greater proportions of females in both age categories were without income than was the case for males, but the disparity between the proportion of young men and all men without income was much greater than that between women in the two age groups. Indeed, the proportion of young women not in receipt of income was not appreciably different from that of all women and, bearing in mind the higher labour force participation rates of women in their early twenties, it is not surprising that a smaller proportion of them relative to all women were without income.

TABLE 7.1. Number and Percentage Distribution of Persons Without Income,
by Selected Age Groups and Sex, Canada,(1) 1961

Sex	15-24			Population 15+		
	Total population	Population without income	Percentage without income	Total population	Population without income	Percentage without income
	No.	No.	%	No.	No.	%
Males	1,051,800	308,103	29.3	4,977,296	369,252	7.5
Females ...	1,093,344	496,728	45.4	5,123,876	2,420,083	47.2
Total ...	2,145,144	804,831	37.4	10,101,172	2,789,335	27.6

(1) Includes Yukon.

Sources: 1961 Census Bulletin 4.1-1, Table A1, and Bulletin 7.1-14, Table 3.

The causes of the disparity in the proportion of income recipients between the young and the adult population as a whole are not very obscure. Income originates in a variety of sources but by far the most important is labour income accruing from employment either in the capacity of a wage-earner or a self-employed person. By the very nature of social organization, however, the majority of young people are debarred from employment. Teen-agers constituted 55 per cent of the group of young people aged 15-24, and close to 60 per cent of them were attending school in 1961. They were therefore unable to participate to any great extent in production and thus excluded from the most important source of income. Of the other two-fifths, the majority were members of the labour force and therefore in receipt of some income. Their earning pattern will be analysed at a later stage.

The young adults aged 20-24 present a different picture. At this age except for the small minority who pursue higher learning (8.1 per cent in 1961), most people have normally terminated their formal education. A few enter vocational schools and training institutions of various kinds, but the great majority join the labour market. In June 1961, young adults had a labour force participation rate

of 72.2 per cent; these persons can therefore be expected to be in receipt of income either as earnings or as transfer payments if they happen to be unemployed.

Another important source of income is investments. Normally, the ownership of income bearing assets is acquired out of savings from labour income. Young people just on the threshold of their working life, therefore, cannot have accumulated many assets and except for the few who have inherited them, this group cannot normally count on investments as an important source of income. The young are also largely excluded from the other two major sources of income, i.e., certain types of transfer payments and retirement pensions, by the very fact of their youth.

Since so many of the main sources of income are closed to young people it is therefore not surprising that a smaller proportion of this age group are in receipt of income relative to the adult population as a whole.

Persons with Income

In this section the 62.6 per cent of the young people who had incomes in 1961 will be studied and an analysis of the size and sources of their income will be made. There were significant differences in the size distribution of income of young people compared with the adult population as a whole. Table 7.2 sets out the distribution of income of young people alongside that of persons 15 years and over for the year ending May 31, 1961. The average income of the adult population 15 years and over was \$3,131. It will be seen from the table that 73.4 per cent of young males had incomes under \$3,000 compared with 39.4 per cent of adult males. The disparity is enormous in the income range \$5,000 and over; for example, 2.2 per cent of young males aged 15-24 had incomes in the five and six thousand dollars range as against 10.4 per cent of all adult males in this bracket. In the range \$6,000-\$9,999 there were just 1.2 per cent of young males compared with 11.3 per cent of the total adult male population.

TABLE 7.2. Percentage Distribution of the Total Non-farm Population, by Selected Age Groups Showing Size of Income, Average and Median Income, by Sex, Canada,(1) Year Ended May 31, 1961

Income size	Population 15+			15-24	
	Total	Male	Female	Male	Female
percentage					
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under \$500	12.0	5.8	22.6	22.0	28.0
\$ 500-\$ 999	14.1	8.5	23.8	13.4	14.7
1,000- 1,499	8.1	6.0	11.6	10.6	12.2
1,500- 1,999	6.9	5.5	9.3	8.5	11.8
2,000- 2,499	7.7	6.7	9.5	10.3	13.6
2,500- 2,999	6.9	6.9	6.8	8.6	8.7
3,000- 3,499	8.4	9.7	6.3	9.5	6.5
3,500- 3,999	6.9	8.9	3.5	6.5	2.5
4,000- 4,499	6.7	9.4	2.2	4.6)	1.3)
4,500- 4,999	4.8	6.9	1.2	2.4))
5,000- 5,999	7.1	10.4	1.4	2.2))
6,000- 9,999	7.6	11.3	1.3	1.2)	0.7)
10,000+	2.6	3.9	0.4	0.3))
Average income	\$ 3,131	\$ 3,999	\$ 1,651	\$ 1,972	\$ 1,455
Median income	\$ 2,580	\$ 3,549	\$ 1,157	\$ 1,735	\$ 1,299
Number of persons with income	7,311,837	4,608,044	2,703,793	743,697	596,616
Number of persons without income	2,789,335	369,252	2,420,083	308,103	496,728

(1) Includes Yukon.

Sources: 1961 Census Bulletin 4.1-1, Table A1, and Bulletin 7.1-14, Table 3.

The pattern was somewhat different for females. Larger proportions of females both in the adult population and in the young female population received incomes in each of the low income categories under \$3,000 than did males, but there was not a great deal of difference between young women and all adult women in general. Thus, 89 per cent of young women and 83.4 per cent of all women received incomes under \$3,000. In income brackets over \$3,000, however, young women were at a great disadvantage. Only 1.3 per cent of them received incomes of \$4,000-\$5,000 while 3.4 per cent of all women were in this bracket. Less than one per cent of young women received incomes over \$5,000 compared to 3.1 per cent of all women. The average and median income of young males were both 51 per cent lower than that of the adult male population. The differential in these measures of central tendency between young women and all women was less extreme. Young women had an average income 11.8 per cent less than the national average. Their median income, on the other hand, was 12.2 per cent higher than the national average.

Young people on the whole were the lowest income recipients in 1961. Table 7.3 sets out the average incomes of the population 15 years of age to 70 years and over by ten-year age groups for both sexes. It will be seen that the average incomes of those males who were in receipt of income, rose from the sum of \$1,972 at age 15-24 to \$5,081 at age 35-44 and thereafter declined to \$2,071 for the oldest age group. Thus, the average income of young males was 61 per cent lower than the average income at the age of peak earnings.

TABLE 7.3. Average Income for the Non-farm Population 15 Years of Age and Over, by Sex, Canada,(1) 1961

Age	Average income	
	Male	Female
dollars		
15-24	1,972	1,455
25-34	4,273	1,914
35-44	5,081	1,864
45-54	4,977	1,919
55-64	4,393	1,746
65-69	3,163	1,328
70 and over	2,071	1,154

(1) Includes Yukon.

Source: 1961 Census Bulletin 4.1-1, Table A5.

The level of average income was considerably lower in all female age groups but the differential was smallest in the youngest age group where the female/male difference was only 26 per cent. Thereafter the gap widened rapidly until at peak income the average of men was more than two and a half times as great as the average income of women at their highest income level. The 15-24-year-old women had the second lowest average income, ranking after the 70 plus group. Female incomes rose more slowly than that of males and reached its peak ten years later. Thereafter it fell more rapidly than male incomes.

Major Source of Income

Table 7.4 sets out the distribution of young people by their major source of income and compares it with the distribution of the adult population. It shows the proportion of each group which derives the major part of their income from each of the four main sources: employment, transfer payments, investments and retirement pensions. This table confirms the well observed fact that for the majority of people the major source of income is employment. This is true for young people of both sexes as well as for the adult population in general. So far as young people are concerned, sources other than employment are quite marginal. Subsidiary sources of income are relatively more important for the adult population however and, as between these sources, there is considerable variation between male and female.

The differential in the proportion of persons whose major source of income is given as employment is much greater between women in the two relevant categories than that which exists between their male counterparts. For example, 93.4 per cent of young women and 66 per cent of all women depended on employment for the major part of their income. In the case of males the difference between the two age groups was just 9.1 percentage points.

Nearly one fifth of the total female population was dependent upon transfer payments for the major part of their total income. In this respect, they fared much worse than the male population assuming as we do that transfer payments represent, on the whole, a low income status. On the other hand, a much greater proportion of females received the bulk of their income from investments. No reliable inferences can be made from this as to the income status of such recipients since investment income covers a wide range of receipts which vary widely in amount. However, since the median income from this source was only \$446, it is apparent that the receipts of the female population from this source were small.

Young men and young women are almost equally dependent upon employment as the major source of income. With increasing age, the pattern of their life changes and women begin to withdraw from the labour market when they marry and start a family. This has the effect of reducing the importance of employment as a major source of income to the female population taken as a whole.

Thus, the major source of income for both the young and the adult population and for both sexes is employment, but this tends to become relatively less important with increasing age. In the older group transfer payments, investment income and retirement pensions become relatively more important for women than for men.

TABLE 7.4. Percentage Distribution of the Population Aged 15-24, by Major Source of Income Showing Total Income, Average and Median Income, by Sex, Canada,(1) Year Ended May 31, 1961

Major source of income	Total income	Average income	Median income
	%	\$	\$
Males 15-24			
Total income	100.0	1,972	1,735
Income from employment	96.4	2,018	1,823
Transfer payments	2.0	780	643
Investment income	1.3	665	312
Retirement pensions and other income	0.3	975	544
Male population 15 years and over			
Total income	100.0	4,000	3,549
Income from employment	87.3	4,323	3,849
Transfer payments	8.6	1,014	846
Investment income	2.1	4,049	2,049
Retirement pensions and other income	2.0	2,750	2,052
Females 15-24			
Total income	100.0	1,455	1,300
Income from employment	93.4	1,519	1,415
Transfer payments	4.0	535	470
Investment income	2.1	506	310
Retirement pensions and other income	0.6	791	455
Female population 15 years and over			
Total income	100.0	1,645	1,157
Income from employment	66.0	1,975	1,766
Transfer payments	19.9	776	759
Investment income	11.4	1,260	446
Retirement pensions and other income	2.7	1,588	1,184

(1) Includes Yukon.

Sources: 1961 Census Bulletin 4.1-1, Table A8, and unpublished data from Tabulation 14.

Table 7.5 compares the distribution of income of young people with that of the population 15 years and over by major source of income and by size of income. Larger proportions of male recipients whose major source of income was employment were in income brackets above \$3,000 than those whose major source was other than employment. The proportions were 68 per cent and 12 per cent, respectively. For example, 10.6 per cent of the former were in the range \$4,000-\$4,499 while only 1.2 per cent of the latter fell in this bracket. By contrast, only 4.1 per cent of those whose major source was employment received income in the low range of \$500-\$999 compared with the 38.6 per cent of those whose major source of income was "other sources". It will be observed that given that employment is the major source of income, the young male fared much worse than the adult male population as a whole. Only 4.8 per cent of them were in the bracket \$4,000-\$4,499 as compared to 10.6 per cent of the latter. However, as compared with those whose major source was "other sources", the young males who depended mainly on employment were much better off than those who depended upon "other sources".

TABLE 7.5. Percentage Distribution of Total Income by Size of Income for the Non-farm Population, by Selected Age Groups, Sex, and Major Source of Income, Canada, (1) 1961

Income size	Employment income				Other sources			
	Population 15+		Population 15-24 years		Population 15+		Population 15-24 years	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
percentage								
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under \$500	4.7	18.9	20.8	25.6	12.9	29.9	54.7	62.0
\$ 500-\$ 999	4.1	13.0	13.0	13.9	38.6	44.7	23.8	25.0
1,000- 1,499	4.6	12.0	10.6	12.6	15.7	10.7	9.7	6.5
1,500- 1,999	4.8	11.4	8.7	12.4	10.9	5.3	4.3	2.6
2,000- 2,499	6.8	12.8	10.6	14.4	6.4	3.1	2.4	1.4
2,500- 2,999	7.4	9.5	8.9	9.3	3.9	1.8	1.2	0.8
3,000- 3,499	10.7	9.0	9.8	6.9	2.6	1.1	0.8	0.5
3,500- 3,999	10.0	5.0	6.7	2.7	1.8	0.7	0.6	0.2
4,000- 4,499	10.6)	4.6)	4.8)	1.4)	1.2)	0.9)	0.4)	0.3)
4,500- 4,999	7.8)		2.4)		0.8)		0.3)	
5,000- 5,999	11.7)		2.3)		1.3)		0.6)	
6,000- 9,999	12.6)	3.8	1.2)	0.7)	2.1)	1.9	0.8)	0.8)
10,000+	4.2)		0.3)		1.7)		0.3)	
Average income .. \$	4,323	1,975	2,018	1,519	1,779	1,003	758	548

(1) Includes Yukon.

Source: 1961 Census Bulletin 4.1-1, Table A8.

Income and Employment

Discussion to this point has focused upon the size and distribution of income of young people who were in receipt of income of one kind or another. There were, however, a considerable number of persons in the age group under consideration who, because of various social and institutional arrangements did not receive any income in 1961; it is to this group that attention will be directed in the following paragraphs.

Since as we have seen, employment was the major source of income, persons without income might normally be expected to be outside of the labour force. The majority of teen-age persons fell into this category. In terms of individual income 48.1 per cent of males and 53.3 per cent of females aged 15-19 had no incomes. This follows from the fact that the majority of such persons were engaged in educational activities which largely precluded the possibility of their seeking employment. See Table 7.6. The economic requirements of such persons are generally provided by parents, assisted in varying degrees by state grants, bursaries and allowances, so that lack of income among this group is not necessarily indicative of hardship as it could be in older age groups.

TABLE 7.6. Proportions of Population(1) in Specified Age Groups Without Income, and Not in the Current Labour Force, Canada, 1961

Age	Males		Females	
	Percentage with no income	Percentage not in current labour force	Percentage with no income	Percentage not in current labour force
percentage				
15-19	48.1	58.6	53.3	65.8
20-24	5.6	12.8	36.5	50.5
Population 15 years and over	7.4	21.8	47.2	70.3

(1) Population with respect to income relates to the non-farm population 15 years and over; population not in labour force relates to total population 15 years and over.

Sources: 1961 Census Bulletin 4.1-1, Table A5 and Table A10, unpublished data, and Bulletin 3.1-2, Table 5.

In the group aged 20-24, on the other hand, persons without income were the exception rather than the rule. Something less than 6 per cent of the men and about 37 per cent of the women were without incomes. These proportions were paralleled by the proportions not in the labour force and reflect very forcefully the correlation between participation in employment and receipt of income at the start of the regular working life of the individual. This correlation becomes somewhat blurred when the population 15 years and over is considered. With the adult population as a whole is included the older population, many of whom are retired and are in receipt of government pensions and various private retirement pensions. They may also have been able to acquire earning assets during their working life which bring in some income. These transfer payments and investment income tend to make the link between employment and receipt of income of older males less tenacious.

The proportion of females with no income is much greater than is the case with males. This is not surprising since it is a reflection of the social organization in which it is traditional that the married woman is not normally expected to produce money income. In many cases she is not capable of taking up employment because of the restriction which the responsibility of raising a family imposes. A considerable proportion of both males and females, but especially females who were not in the current labour force received income during the year. It is quite possible that they had income from sources other than employment but, as we have already seen, such sources were not important for the young people. It is more than likely that these persons worked some time during the previous twelve months, but had dropped out of the labour force prior to the census enumeration.

The foregoing observations and comparisons will have established unequivocally the positive relationship which exists between the lack of income and absence from the labour force. However, it is evident that an inverse relationship holds between labour force attachment and the size of income of persons with income. The variable factor in this instance is the nature of the labour force attachment. Two types of labour force were classified in the 1961 Census, the current and the non-current labour force. The current labour force refers to persons who were in the labour force during the week prior to enumeration. The non-current labour force refers to persons who participated some time during the year prior to the enumeration date but had, for some reason or other, dropped out. Table 7.7 sets out the average income of the adult population and the population 15-24 by sex and cross-classifies it with type of labour force attachment.

TABLE 7.7. Average Income of Selected Age Groups by Sex and Type of Labour Force Participation, Canada, (1) 1961

Type of labour force	Population 15+			Population 15-24		
	T	M	F	T	M	F
dollars						
In current labour force(2)	3,815	4,444	2,142	2,014	2,245	1,695
Not in current labour force(3)	1,490	2,064	1,013	873	898	851
Not in labour force(4)	1,281	1,611	1,100	661	607	709

(1) Includes Yukon.

(2) Current labour force refers to labour force participation on June 1, 1961.

(3) Refers to persons employed only some time during the year preceding June 1, 1961.

(4) Consists of all other income recipients.

Sources: Unpublished data from the 1961 Census Income Tabulation 18, and Census Bulletin 4.1-2, Tables B8 and B9.

Average income differed widely with the type of labour force attachment. Young people as well as all persons 15 years and over received highest incomes if they were in the current labour force. Adult males in the current labour force had average incomes that were more than twice as great as that of persons who had worked some time during the year, and almost three times as great as that of persons who were not economically active. These disparities in average incomes as between different types of labour force attachment were even more exaggerated in the case of young males 15-24 years of age, being two and a half times and nearly four times as great, respectively. The differences in average income between persons who had some work experience during the year and persons who were outside the labour force were not very great. The young people who were not in the current labour force consisted for the most part of students who worked part of the year but were in school on June 1.

The case of adult females was quite exceptional. Those who were outside the labour force had average incomes slightly greater than those who had worked some time during the year. In the latter group would be included married women who worked on a part-time basis whose earnings would therefore be low. Included among those outside the labour force would be the large number of older women who are in receipt of various transfer payments and retirement pensions. The degree of labour force participation, therefore, is seen to be an important factor in determining the size of income.

Wage Earnings

Since as we have seen, earnings from employment constitute the major source of income of all categories of income recipients, a brief look at the way the wage and salary earnings of young people compare with that of prime age wage-earners is instructive. Table 7.8 sets out the average and median wage and salary earnings of young persons by sex for the two age categories 15-19 and 20-24, and compares them with that of workers in the prime earning age group 35-44 years of age. The data relate to workers who reported working between 49 and 52 weeks during the year. We assume that they worked 35 hours per week but it is quite possible that not all of them may have worked full-time for the entire period. It will be seen that the average earnings of teen-age males were less than half that of prime age males. The gap between the earnings of female teen-agers and prime age women was, however, not as great; the earnings of the former group being 34.9 per cent lower than that of the latter. As young people move into the early twenties, the gap between their earnings and that of the prime age workers begins to narrow. It was 34.7 per cent lower for young males and 14.4 per cent lower for young females.

The ratio of female to male average and median earnings is highest in the youngest age group and decreases to prime age. Teen-age girls earn 88 per cent of the average earnings of teen-age boys, but by the time a woman is 35-44 her average earnings are only 57 per cent of her male peers for equivalent amount of time worked.

TABLE 7.8. Average and Median Wages and Salaries by Selected Age Groups and Sex of Wage and Salary Earners in Current Labour Force, Employed for 49 to 52 Weeks,(1) Year Ended May 31, 1961, Canada(2)

Age	Males		Females		Ratio of female to male	
	Average	Median	Average	Median	Average	Median
dollars						
15-19	2,091	2,155	1,831	1,906	0.88	0.88
20-24	3,216	3,264	2,409	2,507	0.75	0.77
35-44	4,926	4,648	2,813	2,786	0.57	0.60

(1) These are average earnings of employees in the current labour force who reported usually working 35 hours per week or more.

(2) Includes Yukon.

Source: Podoluk, J.R., Earnings and Education, DBS Cat. 91-510 Occasional. December 1965, Table 4, page 18.

Upon first entry into the labour force, the earnings of male and female high-school graduates (as the 15-19-year-old group can be assumed to be) are not appreciably different. Girls require little additional training for the secretarial and service occupations which they traditionally engage in. Boys, however, often require advanced training or enter jobs that demand long apprenticeship and are thus usually paid lower wages during the training period.(20) By their twenties, male earnings forge ahead and by prime age men are usually making nearly double what women earn because by this age they have moved into managerial, professional and other types of highly paid jobs to a far greater extent than women.

Earnings and Education

Training and education result therefore in marked differences in earnings capacity. Table 7.9 gives the average employment earnings by sex and level of education by very broad educational groupings for the population under twenty-five and the population in the prime age group 35-44. The data relate to two main categories of workers, wage and salary earners and the non-farm labour force. The wage and salary classification excludes self-employed persons and the non-farm labour force includes all classes of workers.

(20) Podoluk, J.R., Earnings and Education, DBS, Ottawa, 1961, page 19.

TABLE 7.9. Average Earnings by Sex, Age and Selected Level of Schooling Showing Wage and Salary Earners and Total Non-farm Labour Force, Canada,(1)
Year Ended May 31, 1961

Schooling and age	Wage and salary earners			Non-farm labour force		
	Male	Female	Ratio F/M	Male	Female	Ratio F/M
	Average \$	%	Average \$	%		
<u>Elementary</u>						
Under 25	1,784	1,171	0.66	1,928	1,227	0.64
35-44	3,312	1,560	0.47	3,653	1,627	0.47
<u>Secondary 4-5</u>						
Under 25	2,435	1,960	0.81	2,497	2,000	0.80
35-44	5,349	2,565	0.48	5,779	2,577	0.45
<u>University degree</u>						
Under 25	2,994	2,721	0.91	3,406	2,699	0.79
35-44	7,928	4,343	0.55	9,966	4,256	0.43

(1) Includes Yukon.

Source: Podoluk, J.R., Earnings and Education, DBS Cat. 91-510, December 1965, Table 6, page 21.

Average earnings of young workers in both categories exhibited marked improvement with increases in educational level. Male wage and salary earners with 4 to 5 years secondary schooling earned approximately 36.4 per cent more than those with just elementary schooling and those with university training earned 22.9 per cent more than those with secondary education. The effect of education upon earnings is more remarkable in the case of young women, the earnings differential between secondary and elementary education being 67.2 per cent and that between university and secondary education being 38.8 per cent. The earnings differential associated with different levels of education is reinforced and widened with increasing age. The earnings of male wage-earners in the prime age group 35-44 are 61.5 per cent greater for those with secondary education than for those with only elementary education, and 48.2 per cent greater for those with university than for those with secondary education.

The ratio of female average earnings to male average earnings increases rapidly with increasing education. Whereas the earnings of women in the lowest educational grouping was 66 per cent of that of males in the same group, it was 91 per cent if she had a university education. University education therefore seems to be the avenue for reducing the inequality in earnings status between men and women of a given age group. The ratio of female earnings is highest, however, in the case of young people under 25 years of age. By prime earning age 35-44 it falls to a little less than 50 per cent in the lowest educational category and to a little more than 50 per cent in the highest educated group.

Income and Marital Status

Table 7.10 summarizes the average and median incomes of young income recipients by marital status and compares them with the adult population as a whole. Of the adult population, the majority of both male and female income recipients were married. Among young people the opposite was true, the majority being single; in this group only 22.2 per cent of the men and 29.3 per cent of the women were married.

Average income of the young married male was 28 per cent lower than that of all married males, the former being \$3,289 and the latter \$4,587. The average income of the young married male, on the other hand, was more than twice as high as that of his single counterpart. This relationship between the average income of married and single young men held good for the male population as a whole; marriage would therefore seem to have an important influence on income, or vice versa. It may be that men marry when they consider their income is high enough to enable them to afford it. Or it may be that being married there are greater pressures for larger income and the incentives become more powerful. In any case the association between higher incomes and the married state is quite evident.

TABLE 7.10. Average and Median Incomes by Sex and Marital Status, Population Aged 15-24, Canada, (1) Year Ended May 31, 1961

Marital status	Percentage of total income recipients	Average income	Median income
	%	\$	\$
<u>Males 15-24</u>			
Single	77.7	1,595	1,257
Married	22.2	3,289	3,272
Widowed and divorced	0.1	3,092	2,957
<u>Male population</u>			
Single	21.2	2,158	1,798
Married	75.4	4,587	4,041
Widowed and divorced	3.4	2,497	1,475
<u>Females 15-24</u>			
Single	70.4	1,412	1,263
Married	29.3	1,555	1,388
Widowed and divorced	0.3	1,720	1,625
<u>Female population</u>			
Single	27.8	1,942	1,738
Married	54.8	1,505	975
Widowed and divorced	17.5	1,650	987

(1) Includes Yukon.

Source: 1961 Census Bulletin 4.1-1, Table A6.

Provincial Variations in Income

Table 7.11 sets out the average incomes of young Canadians by provinces and by sex. It will be seen that average incomes varied widely from one province to the next for both sexes. Male averages ranged from a low of \$1,481 in P.E.I. to a high of \$2,145 in Alberta, a total range of \$664. The average absolute deviation of the provincial averages from the Canada average will be used as a simple measure of geographic variation. The average absolute deviation was \$222 for males and \$213 for females. To compare the amount of deviation of provincial average incomes from the Canada average income as between males and females the absolute deviation is expressed as a percentage of the relevant Canada average for each sex. As shown in Table 7.11 provincial variations in average incomes were greater for females than for males, being 14.6 per cent for the former and 11.2 per cent for the latter.

TABLE 7.11. Deviation of Provincial Average Incomes of Young People Aged 15-24, and Average by Sex, Canada,(1) 1961

	Total	
	Male	Female
	\$	\$
CANADA(1)	1,972	1,455
Newfoundland	1,499	1,005
Prince Edward Island	1,481	934
Nova Scotia	1,583	1,059
New Brunswick	1,566	1,068
Quebec	1,957	1,530
Ontario	2,075	1,536
Manitoba	1,991	1,466
Saskatchewan	1,869	1,378
Alberta	2,145	1,423
British Columbia	2,024	1,354
Average absolute deviation	222	213
Average percentage deviation %	11.2	14.6

(1) Includes Yukon.

Source: 1961 Census Bulletin 4.1-1, Table A5.

Family Income

Up to this stage the study has been confined to consideration of individual incomes, because in the normal course of events income accrues to individuals either as a return for their labour or their ownership of assets or as a transfer payment from Government in its pursuit of certain social and economic policies. However, since the disposition of income is usually made by the family as the spending unit, the level of living which can be attained by a family depends upon the total income available to the family as a whole rather than to individual members of it. Considerations of income adequacy are therefore relevant only in relation to family income and to the size and structure of the family. The next few paragraphs will be devoted to looking at the distribution of family income of young families, the head of which is under 25 years of age.

A family, according to the 1961 Census definition, consisted of a husband and wife with or without children who have never married, or alternately, a parent with one or more never-married children living together in the same household. There were 3,656,968 such families living in Canada in June 1961 and, of these, 168,311 or 4.5 per cent had family heads who were under 25 years of age.

The economic well-being of the family is assessed by the income level of the consuming unit rather than the individual income per se of the family head. By itself, however, this does not tell a great deal about the adequacy of income. The size of the family and the age structure of its members are important

considerations. Table 7.12 sets out the distribution of family income by sex of head for young families as well as for all families generally. It will be seen that 28.8 per cent of families in which the family head is a male under 25 years of age received incomes of less than \$3,000. This compares with the 20.9 per cent of all families with male heads who are in this low income range. However, the greater disparity is in the distribution of income as between families with male heads and families in which the head is a female. Great differences are evident in the income distribution, both of young families and all families, between families where the head is male and those where the head is female. In the case of all families 53.2 per cent of those with female heads and 20.9 per cent of those with male heads had incomes of less than \$3,000. In young families 91.4 per cent of those with female heads had less than \$3,000 a year compared to 28.8 per cent of those with male heads. Fortunately there were just between 5 per cent and 7 per cent of families in each of the relevant age groups with female heads.

TABLE 7.12. Percentage Distribution of Families by Size of Income and by Sex of Head, Heads Under 25, and All Heads, for Census Families, Canada, (1) 1961

Income size	Canada total		Heads under 25	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
percentage				
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under \$1,000(2)	3.4	19.0	4.1	58.3
\$ 1,000-\$ 1,499	3.6	8.8	3.4	11.7
1,500- 1,999	3.9	8.8	4.7	8.6
2,000- 2,499	4.6	8.8	7.4	8.0
2,500- 2,999	5.4	7.8	9.2	4.8
3,000- 3,499	7.4	7.8	11.7	4.1
3,500- 3,999	7.9	6.7	11.5	1.9
4,000- 4,499	9.0	5.7	11.3	0.7
4,500- 4,999	7.9	4.9	8.5	0.4
5,000- 5,499	8.3	4.0	7.4	0.4
5,500- 5,999	6.0	3.1	5.3	0.3
6,000- 6,999	10.0	4.7	8.1	0.4
7,000- 7,999	6.9	3.1	4.0	0.2
8,000- 9,999	7.5	3.3	2.5	0.1
10,000- 14,999	5.5	2.5	0.6	-
15,000+	2.6	1.0	0.2	-
Total number of families	3,409,942	247,026	158,877	9,434
Average income	\$ 5,590	3,500	4,138	1,132
Median income	\$ 4,796	2,790	3,914	857

(1) Includes Yukon.

(2) Includes families without income.

Source: Census Bulletin 4.1-4, Table B2.

Income size must be related to the size of the family and the age structure of its members. The average size of the young family in Canada in 1961 was 2.9 persons. This was 25.5 per cent smaller than the national average of 3.9 persons per family. The average income of young families with male heads was \$4,138, a figure which was 25.9 per cent lower than that of all families. It would seem therefore that the incomes of young families were not proportionately out of line with that of all families considering the relative size of families. However, the structure of young families differed considerably from that of families in general, the great majority of the former group having children under six years of age, compared with all families where the ages of the children ranged from under 6 years into the teens.

Determination of how adequately the income of young families meets their needs is a difficult problem in the absence of budget studies. These provide estimates of costs for families of various sizes and of varying age structures, given the price index for the particular locality in which the family resides. A few studies have been done for the Toronto area, but with the wide regional disparities in cost in various parts of Canada and between urban and rural areas, such studies could have very limited applicability. Comparisons of the economic welfare of young families with that of all families in general are therefore misleading. Although, as we have seen, relative incomes and family size are not markedly out of line, it must be remembered that the needs of young families and their asset position are quite different from that of all families.

Economic Families

The foregoing analysis of family income related to the census family, a concept which excludes a large number of relationships in which accommodation and a certain amount of income resources are shared. The census family is strictly defined as a married couple (or one partner of a marriage) with unmarried children, or a parent with unmarried children living together. This excludes a large number of extended families in which people share living quarters with others to whom they are related either by blood, marriage or adoption. For example, a group in which a woman lives with her married son and daughter-in-law does not fulfil the requirement of the census family, nor does the case of sisters and brothers living together, because it does not meet the requirement of parents and unmarried children sharing the same household. Such families of which there were 3,626,756 in Canada in 1961, almost as many as fulfilled the narrower definition of the census family, are described as economic families. Table 7.13 shows the distribution of income of such families. Just around 4 per cent of economic families were young families in which the heads were under 25. It will be seen that in this type of young extended family a greater proportion had incomes over \$3,000 than was the case with census families. It is particularly significant that in such family types, where the head was a female under 25 years of age, many more had incomes over \$3,000 than was the case in census families. The doubling up of living arrangements with brothers and sisters or in-laws would seem to have a beneficial influence upon the income available to the young female head.

The average income of young economic families with female heads was more than twice as great as that of census families and the median income was 47 per cent higher. The average income of economic families with young male heads, however, did not exhibit such marked differences. This may perhaps be attributed to the fact of the greater labour force participation rate of men, regardless of family type.

TABLE 7.13. Percentage Distribution of Families by Size of Total Family Income and by Sex of Head, Heads Under 25, and All Heads, for Economic Families, Canada, (1) 1961

Income size	Canada total		Heads under 25	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
	percentage			
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under \$1,000(2)	3.0	13.0	3.0	38.8
\$1,000-\$1,499	3.2	7.8	2.8	9.2
1,500- 1,999	3.6	8.0	4.1	7.7
2,000- 2,499	4.3	7.8	6.7	7.5
2,500- 2,999	5.1	7.4	8.6	5.6
3,000- 3,499	6.9	7.6	11.3	6.1
3,500- 3,999	7.5	6.6	11.5	4.4
4,000- 4,499	8.7	6.2	11.6	4.2
4,500- 4,999	7.8	5.6	8.8	3.0
5,000- 5,499	8.2	4.8	7.8	3.0
5,500- 5,999	6.1	3.8	5.6	2.9
6,000- 6,999	10.4	6.4	9.0	3.8
7,000- 7,999	7.4	4.4	4.7	1.6
8,000- 9,999	8.4	5.1	3.2	1.5
10,000- 14,999	6.5	3.9	1.0	0.4
15,000+	2.9	1.4	0.3	0.2
Total number of families	3,343,756	283,208	142,595	6,539
Average income(2)	\$ 5,834	4,201	4,381	2,275
Median income	\$ 4,991	3,392	4,082	1,626

(1) Includes Yukon.

(2) Includes families without income.

Source: From 1961 Census Bulletin SX-10, Table B1.

Summary

It is evident that sociological and demographic factors are important determinants of income distribution among the young. The fact that more young people relative to the population as a whole receive no income is conditioned by the institutional arrangements of society which require the attendance of youth at educational institutions, thus effectively barring them from employment, the main source of income.

The major part of the aggregate income of persons in receipt of income derives from employment; young people are more dependent upon employment than is the population as a whole since a much greater proportion of this group reported their major source of income as employment.

Demographic factors such as age, education and marital status explain many of the differences in the size distribution of income between young people and the population as a whole and even among the young themselves. This chapter also reveals a considerable degree of regional differences in income distribution among young people.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

Changes in the pattern of fertility of the Canadian population since the turn of the century have been the major source of influence in effecting a steady decline in the proportion of the young people aged 15-24 years in the total population. During the course of the sixty years since 1901, the share of the young declined from 20 per cent to a little over 14 per cent. The baby boom of the post-Second World War period seemed to have temporarily reversed this trend. This showed up in the 1966 Census of Population which registered the proportion of the young as 16.5 per cent. The reversal of the trend cannot, however, be expected to continue. The observed decline in fertility during the late fifties and early sixties indicates a return to the pre-war pattern of growth.

The decade between 1951 and 1961 was marked by considerable unevenness in the growth pattern of young people both as between the sub-groups of teen-agers and young adults, on the one hand, and among the provinces, on the other. During this period, the increase observed in the teen-age population was 35 per cent. This was the third largest growth rate experienced by any age group and it was greater than the growth of the population as a whole. The largest and the smallest increases were in the provinces of British Columbia and Saskatchewan, respectively. The young adults, by contrast, had a growth rate of 8.6 per cent. This was one of the smallest evidenced by any group. Nevertheless, it represented a remarkable increase over the figure of 2.9 per cent observed in the preceding intercensal decade.

Orientation to stay on the farm appears to be proportionately greater among teen-agers than among young adults; the latter exhibited a sharper tendency to settle in urban areas - a situation which may be attributed to the fact that the rural farm does not adequately provide the expanded opportunities either for employment or for higher education (post-high school level). These deficiencies exert a sort of "push" effect on the young adults to leave the farm. At the same time, the limited opportunities of farm life seem to meet the basic needs of teen-agers to a greater degree, thus rooting them in larger proportions to the farm.

Immigrants constituted ten per cent of the group aged 15-24. About half of these were relatively newcomers having migrated to Canada during the five years preceding the 1961 Census.

Canada's young people set an excellent example to their elders in their ability to speak both official languages. The extent of their proficiency, however, varied markedly among the provinces and between urban and rural environments. Quebec and New Brunswick rated highest in the proportion of bilingual young people; the three Western Provinces and Newfoundland were at the other end of the scale. It was also observed that the young were more likely to be bilingual if they lived in urban centres than if they resided in a rural farm or non-farm environment.

Significant changes have been noted in the proportion married among the young in recent decades especially since the beginning of the Second World War. During the decade 1941-51 the proportion married leaped from 15 per cent to 27 per cent; in the following decade, however, the rate of growth declined but the proportion married continued to exhibit an upward trend. It is interesting to observe that the earlier period spanned the Second World War and the early part of the Korean conflict; such periods are traditionally accompanied by an upsurge in the rate at which people

marry and the evidence shows that the young Canadian closely conformed to this behaviour pattern. The differential in the proportion of females who were married, relative to males, was quite pronounced; the former far exceeding the latter, reinforcing a well-documented observation that girls tend to marry at an earlier age and they marry men who are older than themselves. Environmental factors seem to exert an important influence upon the nuptiality pattern of any given group. Thus, young people were most likely to be married by the time they reached the age of twenty-four if they lived in rural non-farm areas, and least likely to be married if they lived on the farm; the low wages and limited employment opportunities of the farm environment appear to be inhibiting factors of some significance.

Young Canadians in the married category adopted more or less the same pattern of living arrangements as their elders — that is, they formed separate nuclear households. A small percentage of married families, however, were not able to maintain separate establishments, a situation which may probably be attributable to economic considerations although not exclusively so. It is interesting to note that some young families, despite relatively high incomes, continued to share living arrangements with their relatives.

In 1961 the average size of the young family was 2.9 persons compared to 3.9 persons for all families. This is as might be expected since the young wife is still at the beginning stages of the childbearing cycle. It was observed that 96 per cent of all the children of young families were under six years of age, a fact which severely limits the participation of young wives in the labour force. Among the structurally complete families (in 1961) 26 per cent of the wives reported they were in the labour force and 24 per cent were employed as wage-earners earning, in most cases, less than \$3,000 annually. These low earnings may be indicative of the overwhelmingly part-time nature of the employment. They probably also reflect employment in certain occupations and industries which traditionally pay low wages.

The great majority of young people living in Canada in 1961 had some secondary education. Of the 67 per cent who had attended high school, more than half reported staying on in school for three to five years. There was, however, a considerable number of drop-outs from high school, a fact reflected in the comparative statistics of school attendance at different stages of the school-age period. For example, among the group 10-14 years of age, school attendance in 1961 was 97 per cent, but by the time they reached high-school age only 59 per cent were in attendance. This, nevertheless, was an improvement over the attendance at the preceding census at the time of which only 41 per cent of teen-agers were attending school. Indeed, this decade (1951-61) witnessed tremendous upsurge of interest in education at the high school as well as at the university level; the proportion of young adults attending school almost doubled and universities experienced severe pressures to expand.

In spite of these improvements regional variations in school attendance of teen-agers persisted, although the gap has considerably narrowed since 1951. These disparities were more pronounced in the area of higher education. Interprovincial variations in school attendance of young adults were almost double that of teen-agers and this has persisted almost without change throughout the decade.

The significant growth of the clerical and service industries during the fifties removed many of the limitations which in earlier decades obliged teen-age girls to stay on at school longer than boys on account of the narrow options available. At the same time the technological changes taking place in the industrial sector exerted pressures which caused the rate of growth in the proportion of girls at school to slacken relative to that of boys. Boys were required to spend more

time at school in order to acquire the improved skills and knowledge which innovation and automation were making mandatory for the work force. By 1961, these two forces had combined to swing the relative proportions attending school strongly in favour of the boys.

As a result of the prolongation of the period necessary for education and training, the role of the male teen-ager in the economic activity of the country has diminished considerably in the forty-year period since 1921. This contrasts sharply with the labour force participation rate of the population as a whole which has remained unchanged at around 55 to 56 per cent throughout the period in spite of various structural changes which it has undergone.

The young adults, on the other hand, have increased their contribution to the economic activity of the country, a circumstance which has been brought about almost entirely by the increased participation of the females of this group. The improved attitudes of society toward female labour and the significant growth in the service and clerical occupations since the fifties have, in large measures, contributed to these changes. The cost to society of maintaining its teen-agers has increased considerably in the decade 1951-61. This is the only group apart from the older population (65+) whose share of the labour force has been smaller than its share of population from which it is drawn. The young adults, on the other hand, make a positive contribution to the economy in terms of the supply of labour and are a part of the larger group upon which the young and the old depend.

So far as unemployment is concerned, young people fared rather worse than the rest of the population. This is in part related to the fact that at the early stages of entry into the labour force there is great occupational mobility as young people shop around trying to find their place in the wide occupational spectrum of a highly industrialized society. The unemployment rates, however, were subject to considerable geographic variation, reflecting differentials in the level of economic activity of the various regions of Canada. Married men experienced lower rates than single men but the reverse was true for females. A very high correlation was found to exist between unemployment and the level of education of young people. The highest rates observed were among young people who failed to complete elementary schooling.

The occupational and industrial attachment of young people differed both within the teen-age and the young adult group as also between young people and the population as a whole. Young adults were more strongly represented in the prestigious white-collar occupations than their younger counterparts who were heavily concentrated in sales occupations and in labouring jobs. Teen-agers were also predominant in service and recreational jobs and in primary occupations particularly as farmers and farm workers. The differences between the two groups are, in some measure, a reflection of differences in their educational attainment and work experience.

More than three quarters of the female labour force was engaged in two broad occupational groups. Over half of them were in white-collar occupations and just under twenty-five per cent were in service jobs. Men, on the other hand, were more evenly represented among white-collar, blue-collar and primary occupations. The occupational distributions of the young people is a faithful reproduction of the adult situation.

It is evident that the better educated a woman is the higher the probability that she will stay in the labour force. A number of demographic and sociological factors contribute to this, chief of which are the different marital and fertility patterns of such women; of no less importance is the more attractive nature of the

occupations available to the better educated.

The institutional arrangements of society have important bearing upon income distribution. The fact that in the year preceding the 1961 Census, 37 per cent of all young people received no income compared with 28 per cent of the total adult population, is a reflection of the educational provisions which require that young people attend institutions of learning on a full-time basis for relatively extended periods of time. This effectively bars many of them from engaging in paid employment. Labour income is the major source of income for the overwhelming majority of Canadians; young people are most dependent upon this source since they do not normally possess income bearing assets and are excluded from receipt of many of the transfer payments and retirement pensions by the very fact of their youth. These considerations explain, in large measure, the very high correlation which has been observed between participation in employment and receipt of income at the start of the working life of the individual.

A look at the income distribution of those who were in receipt of income reveals that the majority were in a very low income bracket. Three quarters of the young men received incomes which were below \$3,131, the average income of the total adult population. A very small proportion had incomes over \$3,000 annually and in the bracket \$5,000-5,999 the disparity between the young and the total adult population was very great, with 2.2 per cent of the former and 10.4 per cent of the latter falling in that range.

Young people were on the whole the lowest income recipients. The average income of young males was 61 per cent lower than average income at the age of peak earnings (35-44 years), being \$1,972 at age 15-24, rising to \$5,081 at age 35-44 and thereafter declining to \$2,071 for the oldest group. Female incomes rose more slowly than that of males and reached their peak ten years later.

Since, as has been pointed out earlier, earnings from employment constituted the major source of income of all categories of income recipients, some comparisons of wage and salary earnings of young people would be interesting. Average earnings of teen-age males was less than half that of prime age males (35-44); the difference between the earnings of females of these two age categories was not as great however, teen-age girls' earnings being just 35 per cent lower than those of prime age women. As young people move into their twenties the gap between their earnings and those of prime age workers begins to narrow.

Our investigations confirm the apparent correlation that exists between earnings and education. Wage and salary earners among young males with 4 to 5 years of secondary education were 36 per cent more than those with only elementary schooling and persons who had university training earned 23 per cent more than those who did not have such training. These differentials were more pronounced in the case of females. University education also seemed to be the most powerful factor in reducing inequality in earnings between men and women of any given age group.

Family income has significance only when related to the structure of the family. There were great disparities in the average income of young families and that of all families and even greater disparities in the distribution of income as between families with male heads and those with female heads. The differences in structure of these families, however, make it difficult to draw any conclusions as to their relative well-being.

Income distribution is seen to be affected by a number of long-run and short-run variables. Among the former are age, sex, marital status and education. Among the latter are the general state of the economy and the amount of employment which is available. Demographic factors interact with social and institutional factors and with personal and individual differences in ways which profoundly affect the distribution of income.

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